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JAIN SETTLEMENTS IN KARNATA.

IT still remains a matter for investigation at what period colonies of the sect, generally known as the Jains, first began to be planted in the Dekkan. The Jains are still numerous in North and South Arcot; but especially in Mysore and North and South Kanara. There are approximately from twenty to twenty-five thousand Jains in the Kanara and Arcot districts; while there are about 15000 in the province of Mysore. In early times, before the persecution by other religious sects almost exterminated them, they must have been considerably more in number. Though the ardour of proselytism and the zeal for religion have passed away, this sect still retains much of its influence and rank by reason of the wealth of many of its members who are bankers and traders. From the dates of inscriptions in Mysore and Kanara, and from notices in them of kings known to be professed Jains, it may be concluded that there were Jains in these countries in the first century of the Christian era, and it is very probable that they already possessed settlements there about 100 B. C. Starting from Sudhapura, the modern Soonda, to the south-east of Goa, the Jain settlements lie in two broad strips of territory on both sides of the Western Ghats, extending southwards along North and South Kanara to Hosso-bella, a town south of Mangalore, and along the western districts of Mysore to Tonnur, twelve miles north of Seringapatam. Dr. Francis Buchanan, a very learned man, and a Fellow of the Royal Society and several other learned associations, was deputed by the Marquis of Wellesley, soon after the fourth Mysore War (1800—01) to travel through the provinces annexed to the British dominions after that war and to make

researches into the antiquities, the manners, and customs of the people besides finding out the natural resources of these territories. He collected together a vast mass of information which was published in the form of a journal of his travels. Much has been changed since then, but for the purposes of the present article, the book gives us valuable information regarding the condition of the Jains after two centuries of persecution by the Sivabhaktas of Ikkeri and the Mussulmans of Seringapatam. Written records of old traditions are not of much value in India, especially where chronology is concerned. The Hindus reckon from the *Kali Yugum* and the *Yudhistira* era which begin from 3093 and 3100 B. C., long before the dawn of authentic history; but where records are dated in the Salivahana era (78 A. D.), reliance can be placed on them, but this takes us back to a comparatively recent period. The testimony of inscriptions on stone and rock is irrefutable, and when these are dated in the Salivahana epoch, the period can be exactly ascertained. Many of the stone inscriptions are partly illegible. The Sivabhaktas of Ikkeri or Kilidi in the north-west of Mysore were uncompromising enemies of the Jains, and many valuable records must have been destroyed by them. During the rise and progress of the Vaishnavite sect under Ramanujacharya, Jain temples supplied material for the building of those of the Vaishnavas. The stones of these again were employed by the orders of Tippu Sultan in erecting fortifications and building mausoleums. During the war with Tippu in 1791, General Abercromby utilised a Jain *basadi* or temple at Periapatam on the eastern border of Coorg as a gunpowder magazine. On the retirement of the General, the Sultan's troops occupied the place, on which occasion, rather than employ the gunpowder for his own use, Tippu ordered it to be exploded, so that he might thereby annihilate an infidel place of worship, which he thought of more consequence than the utilisation of the powder for military purposes.[1] In the High School at Mercara, there is a piece of inscribed stone, about four feet by two, bearing marks of holes drilled into it for cutting it into cubical blocks. Only the left side portion of the inscription remains. It is supposed to have been brought from the neighbourhood of Periapatam. It is very illegible, but written in Hala Kannada (old

1. Vira Raya, the then Raja of Coorg, an ally of Lord Cornwallis, with great policy, removed the Jain merchants from Periapatam, and established them at Virajpet, within his own dominions, where their descendants are still to be found.

Kanarese) characters. At the top there is a carving in relief of a cow and a calf. This is the usual symbol at the top of inscriptions recording grants of land to temples. It is generally a cow *suckling* a calf. From this it is evident that the stone records a grant of land, but it is very improbable that it belonged to a Jain *basadi*. From the collar ornament on the neck of the cow resembling that on the image of the bulls (*basava*) of Siva, of which large numbers are scattered all about the country, it is more probably a remnant of a Saivite or Lingayet inscription.

Dr. Buchanan found in some of the towns in Kanara numbers of *basadis* or Jain temples, even after the havoc wrought by the Sivabhaktas or Lingayets. They were more numerous in South Kanara (Tuluva) than in North Kanara (Haiga). In North Kanara the Sivabhakta Nayaks, the vassals of the Rajas of Vijayanagar, who after the destruction of that city, gradually became independent princes, entirely extirpated the Jains, though in the south they met with a more stubborn resistance. Tippu Sultan appropriated the endowments of the Jain temples. After the English conquest, the Tahsildars and other revenue employees being Saivites or Vaishnavites, were exceptionally hard on the Jain landlords. These latter were not allowed to cultivate their lands on payment of the usual land tax, a concession that was granted to the holders of temple lands of other persuasions, but they were entirely alienated to the State.*

At *Kavila Cutty* east of Mangalore Dr. Buchanan saw a small temple of the Jains, and a tree surrounded by a small terrace. Such a tree is called a *cutty*. Such trees exist in great numbers in all parts of Southern India. At Einur on the northern branch of the Mangalore river, there were eight temples of the Jains and one of Siva. The Jain sects were more numerous here than the Brahmins. At Einur there is a colossal image of one of the Jain saints, called *Gomutta Raya*. The Jains worship seventy-two such saints. They do not acknowledge any supreme being higher than these. The image is formed of one solid piece of granite and stands in the open air. It is estimated to be 35 ft. in height. At *Sopina Angady* there was a Jain temple with an excellent house for the priest. At *Mudu Biddery* it is said that before the persecution of the Jains commenced there were eighteen *basadis* or temples of the

* Buchanan's Journey through Mysore.

Jains and a throne occupied by one of the chief *Gurus*. At *Harijadika*, in South Kanara there was a Jain temple but it had gone to ruins, and the number of Jains was diminishing. The idol it is said was of copper. With many other similar idols it was carried to Jamalabad, a fort of Tippu's in Mysore, and struck into money or cast into cannon. *Beidur* in North Kanara was at one time a large place with a fort belonging to one Byra Devi, a Jain princess. The Jains were quite extinct there. One *basadi* continued to exist there till the time of Hyder when the priest finding he had no means of supporting himself abandoned the shrine. *Batuculla* in North Kanara, another possession of Byra Devi, contained two temples out of sixty-eight that formerly existed. At Barcur there were the ruins of a *basadi* built by one of the Byrasu Wodears, the Jain royal family that once had possession of the whole province of Kanara. "The workmanship" says Buchanan "and carving are superior to any thing I have seen in India probably owing to the nature of the stone which cuts better than the granite in common use" for building temples. At *Carculla* nearly all the inhabitants were of the Jain sect. The *Guru* residing at *Mudu Biddeny* acknowledges as his superior the one who rules at *Sravana Belgola*. At Carculla there is a colossal image of Gomutta Raya. It is made of one piece of granite. Above the ground it is estimated to be 38 ft. in height, 10½ ft. broad and 10 ft. thick. It is sunk about 3 ft. in the ground and has no lateral support. There is a similar one at Sravana Belgola, thirty-three miles north of Seringapatam. An inscription on the stone at Carculla states that it was constructed in 1431 A. D. The same physical type and features seem to be reproduced in the images—a stout oval face, curly hair, large ears with large holes for earrings, the same type of body, high straight nose, well-formed hands and feet; the limbs of good proportions, broad square shoulders and short neck. Though no date is inscribed on the other images, we may reasonably conclude that they all belong to the same period, and that if not by the same sculptor, they were carved by sculptors of the same school. Some time must have elapsed before art attained the advance to perfection it displays in these images. The models are not certainly admirable according to modern ideas; and the images of Gomutta Raya are all perfectly made. There is a period when art in any country owing

to a combination of external circumstances, such as the encouragement offered by some prince of artistic tastes, and the reign of peace and abundance, reaches its high-water mark. This period in Southern India was reached about the middle of the fifteenth century, shortly before the arrival of the first Europeans in India, and therefore such sculpture as we have examples of may be taken as the product of indigenous native genius. At this time Mahomedan adventurers had not yet begun systematically to make incursions into the Dekkan.[2] The Vijayanagar dynasty which had been established on the banks of the Tungabhadra in 1336 had not yet consolidated their dominions, for in the inscriptions at Mysore and Kanara, their authority is not acknowledged till later. The authority of the Tughlak kings of Delhi was falling to pieces, and new kingdoms were being founded on the ruins of the kingdom of Delhi.

The Jain kingdom in Kanara is said by the Jains to have been founded by *Jenadatta*, a prince from the north of India. In one of the temples at Carculla there is an inscription on stone in the language and old character of Karnata, which states that "the protected by Padmawati" which is an epithet supposed to be applied to Jenadatta, reigned at Carculla in *Sal* 1256 (A. D. 1333). But the Jains must have settled in the country long before that time. Tradition spoke of a persecution of the Jains in *Arabia*, which in the imperfect knowledge of geography that then existed we take to mean what Hindu authors call *the country of the Yavanas*. Yavana is a name applied indiscriminately by Hindu authors to the Turks, Arabs, Europeans and other *mleschas* (barbarians). The persecuting king is called *Parswa Bhattaraka*, which being interpreted means the "Persian warrior," and the event alluded to is probably some outburst of Mahomedan zeal in Northern India, which drove a colony of Jains to the south[3]. Jenadatta is said to have been born at *Uttara Madura* (Muthra) on the Jumna. He was of the family of

2. These images escaped the destroying hammer of the Mahomedans probably for the reason assigned by Tod (*Annals of Rajasthan*), that their architecture was more natural than the popular idea of Hindu gods. Had they been constructed with more than one pair of hands or one head, and with distorted human features, as is usual in the Hindu type of religious architecture, they would certainly have been destroyed.

3. According to a Jain *Purana* quoted by Wilks, the historian of Mysore, the said Parswa Bhattaraka was the sister's son of Vardhamana, the celebrated Jain saint, the last of the series of twenty-four, who founded a new religious sect chiefly supported by magical illusions and who extended his religion westwards towards Persia and Arabia.

the Sun, and having incurred the displeasure of his father, for fear of being put to death, fled from his father's court and having come to a village near *Nagara* founded a city called *Hombucha* (Humcha) situated in the north-west of Mysore. There was no Rajput family ruling at Muttra in the fourteenth century; so that he must have belonged to the Chalukya family which was then ruling at Kalyan on the Godavery. It is not impossible that this family once had possessions in Muttra. "Their empire" says Tod "extended from the Carnatic to the base of the Himalaya mountains." Jenadatta afterwards conquered *Culusha.* He afterwards descended to *Sisila*, near *Subramani* on the Western Ghats and finally established himself at *Carculla.* His son was the first Byrasu Wodear, and all his successors assumed the same title. Before the arrival of Jenadatta there were many independent Jain *Polegars*, petty chiefs in Karnata, who once were vassals of the Bellala Rajas of Dwarasamudra but who had asserted their independence under circumstances which will afterwards be narrated. The Byrasu Wodears ruled North Kanara and portions of the South, from Coomti to Carculla. The last member of this dynasty having no son, the property was divided among his seven daughters, all of whom were called *Byra Devi.* From these Barcur was taken by a Jain prince called *Budarasu.* From an inscription in a temple at Barcur, dated 1556 it appears that the Byrava Devi acknowledged no superior. This was at the time of the decline of the Vijayanagar empire, when dissenssions broke out in that city, and only nine years before, it was taken by the Mahomedans. It is said that the eldest of the seven Byrava Devis was called Dodda (Senior) Byra Devi and lived at Batuculla. The second sister married the son and heir of Ichuppa Wodear of Garsoppa, a tributary of the Rajas of Haiga. The marriage only produced one daughter, and as none of her aunts had any children, she united all the dominions of Carculla. To these she added Haiga, and during the weakness of the princes of Anagundi (Vijayanagar), she refused all marks of submission. She lived sometimes at Garsoppa, and sometimes at Batuculla, a town near the coast in North Kanara. She was afterwards killed by the Sivabhaktas of Ikkeri, under Kilidi Venkatappa who in conjunction with the *Halypecas* (the toddy-drawers) exterminated the Jains of Haiga and northern Tuluva. This happened about 1600 A. D. The news of the assassination of Byra Devi was sent to the Mahomedan Vizir at Ponday who took up the cause of the Jain princess

probably because Haiga was considered a tributary of the Bijapur kingdom, but Ibrahim Adil Shah the Vizir was totally defeated by the Sivabhaktas. In South Kanara the Sivabhaktas were less successful. There were four Jain Rajaships of *Choutar*, *Bungar*, *Ajelar* and *Mular*. A discussion having arisen between the Raja of Choutar and the Jain prince of Carculla, the Sivabhaktas were called in and subjugated the country in the name of the Rajas of Vijayanagar. Sivappa Nayaka of Ikkeri, the leader of the conquerors, allowed the conquered princes to retain their estates. The last of the Bungar Rajas was hanged for favouring the English by Tippu's commandant at Jemalabad. The *Hegady Raja* of Vitly, another Jain Polegar, having raised an insurrection and created a disturbance after the English took possession of the country, was also taken and hanged. A century ago the families of these Rajas were still in existence and were permitted to enjoy their private estates, but they were not allowed to exercise any authority, nor were they given any grants out of the public funds.

The *Sivabhaktas* or *Lingayets* of *Ikkeri* or *Kilidi* have been often mentioned, and some of our readers may not consider it out of place if we give them some account of this Hindu sect. It was founded by one Basavanna in the twelfth century. Basavanna declared himself to be an incarnation of the bull of Siva. *Basava* means *a bull*. He was born at *Bagwatti* near Belgaum. He went to the court of Bijjala, the Jain Raja of Kalyan who had overthrown the Rajput dynasty, and whose prime minister he became, having won esteem, it is said, by reading a letter to the king which no one else could read, directing him to some hidden treasure. The king was afterwards killed by three of his servants. He was succeeded by his son Vira Vasanta who was also a Jain. Basavanna then preached his new doctrines. He rejected the authority of the Vedas and the Brahmins, taught the inefficacy of pilgrimage and penance and discarded caste distinctions. The temples of the *Śaktis*, the lower female divinities, to whom is ascribed a malevolent disposition and who are worshipped by the lower classes of Hindus, are called by the Sivabhaktas "devils' huts." The sect of the Sivabhaktas founded by Basavanna is still numerous in Mysore. They wear, as their distinguishing mark, the phallic emblem, a small black stone, enclosed in a silver box either strung round their neck or fastened to the arm. Many incredible legends are related about the origin of

this sect. The book called the *Basava Purana* which contains an account of these was written originally in Telugu, but was translated into Kanarese by one *Bhima Kawi.* During the joint reign of Sadasiva Raya and Ram Raya at Vijayanagar (1563—1589 A. D.) who called themselves "*Cada-êvarus* (*servants*) of the kings," one Sadasiva Gauda, son of the *gauda* or headman of the village of Kilidi in the north-west of Mysore, was given a government in Kanara consisting of Mangalore, Barcur and Gutti, and his title was changed from *gauda* to *raya.* Sixteen persons of this family ruled at Kilidi from 1559 to 1762. They were all Sivabhaktas of the Malawar caste. After the overthrow of Vijayanagar these *Nayaks* or *Polegars* were practically independent. One Sivappa Nayaka ruled independently from 1642 to 1670. It was he that finally overthrew the Jain dominion in Kanara. The Sivabhaktas are uncompromising enemies of the Jains because the latter do not acknowledge Siva as one of their great divinities. Brahma and Siva according to the Jain are only *devatas* or inferior deities.

To the north-west of Mysore in the southern portion of the Bombay Presidency lies *Soonda* which in old times went by the name of Sudhapura. From the character in which the inscriptions in this neighbourhood are engraved, it would appear that this was part of the ancient kingdom of Karnata, including Mysore, North and South Kanara, in short all the regions where the Kanarese language was used. This place was one of the chief seats of the Jain faith, from about the first to the end of the sixteenth century. The country in early times like Kanara, was divided among Jain Polegars; they were the descendants of the Kadamba kings who once ruled at Baligami, in the north-west of Mysore. These Jains apparently were tributary to the later kings of Vijayanagar called "Cada-évaru (servants) of the Rayaru." At their head was Venkatapathi Raya, the prince of Soonda. Venkatapathi having no children promised the whole of his kingdom to his sister's son Arasuppa Nayaka, but afterwards having a son, gave to his nephew the full sovereignty of Sudha. This warrior reigned from A. D. 1555 to 1598. He built or enlarged Sudhapura, and having destroyed all the Jain Polegars, brought in Haiga Brahmins who are in as much consideration here as the upcountry Brahmins from Ahikshetra are in Kanara. Arasuppa's descendant in the third generation, Madu Linga Nayaka, became a Sivabhakta. He

extended his dominions widely and annexed five districts in Kankana. A Jain temple at Soonda, dedicated to *Adi Parameswara*, the first of the Jain *Siddhas* or *Tirtankaras* who occupies in the Jain pantheon the position of the Supreme Being contains an inscription dated *Sal* 722 (A. D. 800). The next in antiquity is at a Jain *matam* or *college* dated *Sal* 727 (A. D. 805) in the reign of Chavunda Raya, who assumes high-sounding titles, and calls himself king of all the South. He mentions the advantages gained over the Buddhists by two of his ancestors, Sadasiva and Bellala. The colossal image of Gomutta Raya at Sravana Belgola, north of Seringapatam, is by tradition ascribed to one Chavunda Raya who is said to have caused it to be constructed. This would give to the image a much earlier date than we have here assumed; but it is not improbable that there might have been more than one Raja of the name. This supposition would also explain the existence of a Chavunda Raya, according to the Jain chronicles, in 50 or 60 B. C. An inscription at Baligamvi, dated A. D. 1048 also mentions a Chavunda Raya, who was a vassal of *Srimat Trailokya Mulla*, the Chalukya emperor, probably of the dynasty ruling at Kalyan. We cannot assume the identity of all these kings of the same name, without more authority than we have; it is, however, evident that Chavunda Raya was a favourite name among the Jain rayas. We have plenty of evidence that the Jain religion was at one time predominant in the Dekkan south of the Krishna; that it had been preceded by that of Buddha whose followers met with very harsh treatment from the Jains, who themselves had to give way to the fierce persecution instigated by Ramanujacharya, in the early part of the 11th century and brought to a climax by the Sivabhaktas of Kilidi and Soonda in the seventeenth century. Another inscription in a Jain *matam* is dated *Sal*. 1120 (A. D. 1198) in the reign of Sadasiva Raya of Sudhapura who does not arrogate to himself high titles like the princes whose grants to temples are recorded in the two former inscriptions. His guru is praised whose predecessors bestowed prosperity on Bellala Raya. This Sadasiva probably belonged to the Kadamba family of Baligami. The Kadamba Rajas of Baligami, the Bellala family of Dwarasamudra, the the Kongani Rajas of Maneyapura and the Kalachuryas were four powerful Jain families ruling in Mysore in former times, the two former of which had possessions also below the Ghats. In the

inscriptions found in Mysore, most of them belonging to the period from the beginning of the eleventh to the end of the thirteenth century, these kings acknowledge the superiority of the Chalukyas of Telingana. All these families were connected by inter-marriage, or else by direct descent. It is probable that the younger members of the Chalukya family ruling at Kalyan on the Godavery were provided with appanages in Mysore, Haiga, and Tuluva, (North and South Kanara). The Chalukya emperors were themselves Jains or were favourably inclined towards that religion.[4] Our conjecture regarding Jenadatta would then receive some support. The Rajas if not Jains, were certainly very often aided by Jain ministers, treasurers, commanders-in-chief, &c. We have noticed before a Bijjala Raja, a Jain who usurped the throne of Kalyan. All these kings of the Bellala and Kadamba families claim to belong to the *Yadava* race. *Yadava* means a cowherd, or more correctly interpreted, a "protector of the cow." In many of the inscribed stones in Mysore there is at the top an engraving in relief of a warrior defending a herd of cows from a gang of robbers armed with bows and arrows. The merit accruing from conserving and perpetuating the grants of land recorded in the inscriptions is stated to be the same as that of presenting "a thousand tawny cows" to Brahmins at *Kasi* and other sacred places; and the crime of withdrawing the grant equivalent to killing the same number of cattle. In a worn and defaced inscription, at Taldegundi, north of Mysore (L. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, No. 101), there is a figure of a Jain *Tirtankara* (saint) flanked on either side by a door-keeper (*dwarapalaka*). The event depicted is stated to have occurred during the reign of the Bellala Rajas at Banavase. A hero is represented with a drawn sword in front of a herd of cattle, encountering a number of archers. In another Jain inscription, the distinctive emblem of the donor is a *crooked sword* denoting that he was a warrior. Telingana is said to denote *the country of warriors*, and the word *bhattaraka*, a designation given to one of the families of gurus in a Jain temple, means "a warrior." It was a custom of Jain Rajas and warriors in later life, to end their days by becoming *sanyasis*. It is supposed that the famous Chandragupta threw down the cares of royalty and became a sanyasin. Indeed, many of the customs on which these inscriptions throw a dim kind of twilight remind us of the customs

4. The great Chalukya emperor, Tribhuvena Malla Deva is acknowledged as suzerain in many of the inscriptions in Jain temples.

of Christian Europe during the Middle Ages, of Charles V of Spain ending his days in a monastery, and of the grants to monasteries for the benefit of the departed souls of wives or mothers. For instance* in an inscription at Devanagere dated 1271, the figurative emblems carved at the top are, a table or book-rest and a crooked sword. In the centre is a *Tirtankara* (Jain saint) enthroned, with *chamars* (fly-brushes) on either side. The latter is one of the distinctive emblems of the Jains and denote their tender regard for animal life. Like Uncle Toby in Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, they would rather get rid of the torment of a fly by removing it to a distance than by destroying it. One *Kuja Raja* who calls himself "the servant of the lotus feet" of Sri Rama Deva (the usual formula for expressing a degree of subordination in rank, among a number of princes in a chain holding their estates in feudal tenure) declares that by the instruction of his guru Padma Sena he has erected a *Jinalaya* (a Jain temple) in order that his wife Lakshmi might obtain the blessings of *moksha* and *swarga*, the higher and lower heaven of the Jain creed, and that moreover he had obtained from Vira Mahadeva Raya the village of Hunasehalli and presented it to that Jain temple of Parosanath, "washing the feet" of Padma Sena *bhattaraka*. All grants of land recorded in stone inscriptions to temples of Siva, Vishnu, or the Jains have at the top the emblem of the sun and the moon on either side, as if these all-seeing luminaries were called upon to bear witness to the deed of gift. We have already noticed the other emblem of *the cow suckling a calf*. The inscriptions in Jain temples generally begin with the formula "May the doctrine of *Trailokyanatha* (*i. e.*, the lord of the three worlds), the supreme, profound *syad veda*, the Jain doctrine, prevail, which is a token of unfailing success." Another formula is also sometimes used.—"Eternally adored be *Om*!" The last is a sacred word, the meaning of which is unknown. It is used even in Tibet. There are temples dedicated to *Omkar-eswara* (the lord of the syllable Om). The sacred writings of the Jain are in *Pali* or *Maghadi*, the language of Maghada, the birthplace of the Buddhist and Jain sects. In the inscriptions occuring in the Karnata country, the old Kanarese characters are used in the writing. Another *sila sasana* or grant inscribed on stone is found at Heggere. Besides some of the other common emblems already referred to, this contains the elephant, the emblem of the Chalukya dynasty. The elephant was

* L. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*.

also the dynastic symbol of the Kongani or Ganga dynasty, "the tamers of elephants," who ruled at *Skandapura*, the modern Gajjahatti, south of Mysore, and whose emblem is found in abundance at Mercara in statues, carvings, and engravings on buildings. In this inscription the authority of Permadi Deva of the *Satyasraya-kula*, that is, the Chalukya family who were reigning at Kalyan is ackdowledged. The "dweller at his lotus feet" that is, his viceroy, is mentioned by name. Another subordinate ruler "entitled to the five great drums" is mentioned as ruling at Dvaravati. The suzerainty is acknowledged of Vishnu Vardana of the Bellala race of whom we shall have to say more hereafter. Narasimha Mahipa, the son of Vishnu Vardana, is declared to have given to Bitti Deva, some high officer of the state, the village of Hennegere "for the support of the elephants." Govi Deva Samanta, a descendant of Bitti Deva and the younger brother of Bhatta Deva Samanta, "in order that his wife Matadevi Nayakiti might obtain eternal happiness" makes over the legacy "with washing of his feet" to his guru "for the eight manner of ceremonies" of the Jain *basadi* at Heggere. And Samanta Bitti Deva, another member of the same family, that he might obtain eternal happiness, in the eighteenth year of Chalukya Vikrama, gives the village of Savanagere to the *basadi*. And one Heggade Jakkana in order that his mother-in-law might obtain eternal happiness, bequeaths another gift to the same temple.*

To return to Sudhapura the great Jain city of old times it is said that its outer wall was forty-eight miles in circumference. There were three lines of fortifications round the town. The extent of the inner enclosure was three miles square, the whole space being once closely occupied with houses. In the outer spaces the houses were scattered with gardens between.

At Banavase, near the north-west boundary of Mysore, at one time the residence of a branch of the Bellala Rajas, there is an inscription dated Sal. 1337 (A. D. 1415) which Dr. Buchanan thinks belongs to a hundred years later, in the reign of Achyutha Raya, Narasinga Raya and Krishna Raya, the later kings of Vijayanagar. It is important as showing that up to this period the Jains about this part (the region about Belgaum) continued numerous. A valuation of all the land between Nagara and Verida is said to have been made by a Jain official named Gopa Gauda under instructions

* Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, No. 173.

from Krishna Raya. It is apparent from several inscriptions that the later Vijayanagar kings who assumed the modest title of "servants of the Rayaru" were Jains themselves, or regarded with favour the members of that persuasion. An inscription at Banavase dated A. D. 1579 fixes the date of Imodi Arasuppa Nayaka of Sudha, who destroyed the Jain supremacy there.

Coming south into Mysore territory, from Banavasi, we come to Balligami, a residence of off-shoots of the Kadamba and Bellala Rajas. Here, there are two inscriptions surviving as memorials of the prevalence at one period of the Jain religion. From one very illegible inscription we just catch a glimpse of the fact, that during the reign of one of the Yadava kings a Jain *yati* or sanyasi who had relinquished all worldly pleasures and desires "attained to the world of gods." These remarkable epitaphs of Jain saints occur elsewhere in Mysore. At Dwarasamudra, now called Hulby bidu (Halebid), upon a stone is engraven a Jain *yati* seated in a temple with certain religious vessels on either side. This states that a certain Yelachandra Pandita Deva, the disciple of a certain *Bhattaraka* Deva, "having announced in the Saka year 1197 (A. D. 1274) that he would enter the tomb addressing the four castes and saying '*know ye not that ye will all acquire great merit? Obtain God! Om*! completing all the rites of a sanyasi and seated in a palanquin...... " The rest of the inscription is illegible but the reader can readily supply the sequel from his imagination. These Jain *yatis* mortified the flesh to such an extreme degree that they were in constant expectation of their end and were almost able to foretell the moment of their *enthanasia*. Another monumental stone similar to the one at Sravana Belgola of very early date contains an inscription of which these are some of the words. "Should I who love the chief good remain attached to this world? Thus saying he.........assumed the state of a sanyasi, and by his virtue the eminent Muni Sena Pranara, reached the world of gods."

The other inscription at Baligami is in the reign of Trailokya Malla Deva the Chalukya emperor, in which the Chavunda Raya arasu before referred to gives to the *basadi* at Baligami five *mattas* of paddy land. As a codicil to this donation it is recorded that by order of the king, (that is, we suppose the under-king at Baligami holding his territory in fee of the emperor,) one Naga Varwera caused to be built in the Banavase country a Jain temple,

another to Vishnu, and a third to Iswara (Siva). The various sects evidently still continued to exist side by side in peace, under the ægis of the Chalukya emperors. We next proceed to Dwarasamudra the famous ancient capital of the Bellala Rajas who were Jains until the time of Ramanujacharya, when king Vishnu Vardana became his convert. The wall of the city might be traced extending nine miles in circumference, and the site of the palace is pointed out. Having been at one time a centre of the Jain worship, traces of that religion remain. Within a common enclosure there are three *basadis*. In one the whole genealogy of the Bellala Rajas is given, with a fanciful account of the origin of the name *Hoysala* applied to a branch of the Bellala family. The reigning king is said to have performed the ceremonies of crawling through a golden cow, weighing himself against gold, and of the horse sacrifice of the Yadava race. The son of one *Ebi Raja*, a protector of Vishnu Vardana's kingdom, probably his commander-in-chief, makes a gift—of what it consisted is uncertain—owing to the imperfect state of the record. Another inscription is in the reign of Vira Bellala Devarasa. Allusion is made to certain villages which Siddeyaye the wife of Kavadamayya granted for the support of a Jain temple she had caused to be erected; and then three pious young men whose names are mentioned, the sons of a doctor, grant for the worship of the god of the seminary which they had enclosed within the precincts of the temple, "for repairs and enlargement, for the performance of the daily and fortnightly ceremonies," two villages purchased for sixty *gadyanas* of gold. Also they gave twenty *hovnu* (gold pieces) and "built with stones the north side of that tank from the south weir of the tank to the stone at the east well,"* In this inscription one *gadyana* is stated to have been given for the *sacred bulls*. This indicated, as it were, a concession to the sect of the Saivites by their Jain rivals. In a third inscription of 1637, there is abundant proof that a temple, once Jain, had passed under the dominion of the Sivabhaktas who inscribed their symbol on the walls and finally to the Saivites who erased that symbol and set up the image of *Nandikeswara* "carved out of beautiful shining stone."

Sravana Belgola is a small village situated about 30 miles north of Seringapatam. The name means, according to Dr. Buchanan,

* *Mysore Inscriptions.*

Here is the white solanam, "for in its neighbourhood a species of that plant grows very copiously." But it is to be also remembered that *Sravana* is the name of the Karnata month beginning in July, thirty days after the summer solstice[5]. This is the chief centre of the Jain worship in Southern India, a place consecrated as the last resting place of numerous Jain Sanyasis, who had come to spend the waning their life here. There is a *matam* or college here, the residence of a Sanyasi who claims precedence over the one at Carculla. Near the village is a very handsomely constructed tank, the gift of a merchant at Seringapatam. In the neighbourhood of the village, there are two rocky hills, one having on it a covered Jain temple, like a house, called a *basadi*, and the other, a gigantic image of Gomutta Raya, the mythical Jain saint of whom mention has abready been made. The height of the image is said to be seventy feet three inches. Dr. Buchanan caused a drawing of it to be made, which Sir Arthur Wellesley who had seen both the original and the drawing pronounced to be more clumsy than the image itself. All these images of Gomutta Raya are quite nude except for the engraved foliage of a creeper entwining the legs and arms. The curly hair on the head points back to the Buddhist origin of the Jain sect. The images of Buddha are thus depicted, whereas the Jain removes all the hair both from the head and face. The Jains themselves will not allow that they are connected with the Buddhists in any way, and declare that Buddha, far from being a *siddha* or saint of the first order, is not even a *devata* or saint of the second order but that his soul is still going through a course of transmigration for all his heresies. There is another hill on which there were fifteen *basadis*. On a bare rock here there is an inscription, the oldest in Mysore, supposed to date back to 100 B. C. in very old Kanarese character. It relates that Bhadrabahu a Jain saint having foretold at Ujini the approach of a twelve years' famine, led his followers southward to escape it; that on their long journey they passed by ruined villages, human bodies, gold, cows, buffaloes; they passed a lofty mountain called *Katavapra*, abounding with wild boars, tigers, &c. Having arrived near this rock, the leader anticipating that he had but a short time to live besought his followers to

5. The Jain *pandit* with whom Colonel Wilks became personally acquainted, whose name was Dharmaya, explained to him that *Sravana* which is the usual title applied to places of Jain worship and also to the saints of that sect was a corruption of *Sramana*, one of the names of the Jain sect.

proceed on their journey and to leave him there alone with one disciple to attend on him in his last moments; and then performing the religious rites preparatory to death, he attained to the state of the blessed. Visakha Muni, his successor as Guru, after the famine, led the remainder of his followers who wished to return to their own country. On arriving at Sravana Belgola, he found that Bhadrabahu had been long dead and that his attendant disciple Chandragupta was himself daily expecting death. It would be tedious to refer to all the grants of land to Jain temples recorded in inscriptions, of which eight are given in the *Mysore Inscriptions.* Four powerful dynasties of Mysore kings ruled in ancient times, the earlier members of which, there is evidence to show, were Jains. In the north-west there were the Kadamba kings ruling at Banawasi and Baligami, of whose dominions North Kanara was a part. There are inscriptions of these kings which acquaint us with the probable period of their rule. One Trinetra Kadumba ruled at Baligami in A. D. 161. Purandara Raya of the same family made a grant of land to Kudali Swamulu when he was ruler of Banawasi in 1120 A. D. Another Kadamba Raya ruled in 1204. Trinetra Kadumba is said to have been the son of Mayura Varma who therefore should have ruled about the middle of the second century A. D. Mayura Varma is said to have brought a colony of 5000 Brahmins from Ahikshetra on the Godavery and planted them in thirty-two villages in Hàiga (North Kanara). This may be taken as the end of the ascendency of the Jains; and the period of dominion of the Jain Rajas of the Kadamba family may be put down as lasting from A. D. 1 to A. D. 150.[6] An inscription at Taludagundi, north of Mysore, which may be taken in connection with this, records the arrival from Ahikshetra of 12000 Brahmins belonging to thirty-two families who were brought by Mukunna Kadamba and settled in a village called *Stanarudrapura.* The next family of kings also originally Jain were the Kongani Rajas who ruled at Maneyapura and Skandapura in or near the south of Mysore. A copper-plate inscription of theirs was discovered at Mercara dated A. D. 466. One of the members of this family is said to have been the sister's

6. The first of the dynasty of whom we have any certain memorial was Kadamba Chikraverti who reigned 149 years before Trinetra Kadamba, or A. D. 12. The antiquity of this dynasty may be judged from the character used in their inscriptions, which is *purva hala*-Kannada, a very ancient form of Kanarese, now hardly understood.

son of the contemporary Kadamba king. The minister, by name Avinita Bhadatta, of the reigning Kongani sovereign, hereby grants the village of Badaneguppe in the presence of witnesses to the Jain *guru* for a certain Jain temple. Other Jain ruling families of whom we know less were the Rattas and the Kalachuryas. The Rattas were the predecessors of the Kongani Rajas and had a Jain *guru.* The Kalachurya kings ruled between 1150 and 1180 A. D.[7] But the most famous of the Jain kings of Mysore were the Bellala Rajas who ruled at Dwarasamudra and afterwards at Tonnur twelve miles north of Seringapatam. They ruled over the whole of Karnata (that is, the region in which the Kanarese language prevails). The founder of the dynasty was Chavunda Raya who ruled in 714 A. D. *Nine* Bellala Rajas are stated to have ruled in succession; but this is a favourite number with Hindu chroniclers and is therefore open to suspicion. The number of the Nandas of Maghada is given as nine *(navananda)*; and there are also said to have been nine nayakas (petty chiefs) ruling at Vijayanagar for *nine* months during an interregnum. Bitti Deva, a contemporary of Ramanujacharya, (1117 A. D.) became his convert, destroyed the Jain temples and in their stead erected places of worship for the Vaishnava sect. He adopted the name Vishnu Vardhana. The story of his conversion is differently told. Two great religious reformers arose in Southern India to beat back the tide of Buddhist and Jain encroachment on the orthodox faith and to place modern Hinduism on the basis on which it has since stood. The earlier of the two was *Sankara Acharya.* His birthplace was Sringa-giri, near the Ghats in the west of Mysore where he erected a college (*matam*) which has ever since remained sacred to the sect he founded. The date of his birth is uncertain. He is said to have come to Malabar in 800 A. D.; it is also said that the eleventh successor of Sankara Acharya at the sacred college of Sringa-giri crowned Hari-hara, the first king of Vijayanagar (1336 A. D.) so that we may assign the period of Sankara Acharya to the middle of the eighth century. Of the

7. The great Mysore Raja Chick Deva Raja, (1672—1704) a contemporary of Sivaji, had a Jain adviser Visha Laksha Pandit who foretold to him that he would one day become raja, and by his arts brought about the fulfilment of his own prophesy. The raja had great faith in him, and it was believed he was secretly inclined to that sect. Visha Laksha proved an honest servant to his master and may be regarded as a type of the Jains who rose to power at the courts of several Hindu princes. Near Conjeveram, at one time, according to Wilks (History of Mysore, Vol. I, Appendix, No. 5) there was a very ancient dynasty of Jain kings who assumed the little *Tondamandalam.*

twenty-one heretical sects among the Hindus who derive their doctrines from the six books of the eighteen Puranas that are considered apocryphal, the Jains and Buddhists are reckoned as two. Sankara Acharya left the Jains alone; probably this tolerance was purchased by the Jains by adopting some of the popular Hindu doctrines, such as reverence to the bull and the cow, the adoption of caste distinctions, and the admission of some of the popular gods of the Hindus into their worship; if they had not done so, they might have been as extinct as the Buddhists at this day in India.

Ramanujacharya was born according to a book, the *Guru para*, written by himself in Sal. 939 (1017 A. D.) at Sri Perumatur near Madras. In order reconcile his era with the inscriptions of his contemporary Vishnu Vardana (Sal. 1039; 1045; 1050), *i. e.* from 1117 to 1128, A. D. we are inclined to ascribe the date of his birth to a slightly later period, unless we should suppose that these personages lived to very great ages. Unable to endure the persecution of the Chola king of Tanjore, Ramanuja fled to the court of Vishnu Vardana at Dwarasamudra. The reformer was evidently a man of great enthusiasm and energy, and an able preacher and debater.[8] According to the Brahmin version, the king's daughter being possessed of a devil, he took her to all the Jain temples to see what the Jain priests could do for her, but none of them was able to exorcise the evil spirit. The magicians were equally unsuccessful. Ramanujacharya sprinkled her with some holy water, and the juice of the *tulasi* leaf (basil, *Ocymum sanctum*) and she recovered. Vishnu Vardana henceforth became a devotee of Vishnu. The account of the king's conversion, as related to Dr. Buchanan by the Jain priests, is that the king fell in love with a dancing girl, who had been educated in the *Sri Vaishnavite* doctrines. This artful woman tauntingly told the king that his *guru* would not receive a gift from his hands. Now, it was the custom of the Jain priests not to take anything from a mained person, and the king was without a finger. The king, to test the truth of what his mistress had told him, sent for his *guru* or chaplain and offered him a gift, which the Jain of course declined to receive. The king flew into a passion, renounced the Jain faith, and became a Vaishnavite. He changed

8. Near Nagamangala Dr. Buchanan met with forty families originally Jain but who had been converted by Ramanujacharya. There was a tradition that the preacher having gained a victory over the Jains in argument caused those who remained unconverted to be ground in an oil-mill.

his capital to Beilur where he built or repaired a temple to Vishnu (1117 A. D). Even after his conversion, his chief officers continued to be Jains, and gifts and endowments were still made to the *basadis*. There is an inscription at Sindhigere, north of Beilur, in the reign of Vishnu Vardana, dated 1138, stating that two brothers Maryane and Bharatana, whose anscestors had married the daughters of the royal house of Bellala, and had received Sindhigere as their marriage portion, which descended to the said brothers as their patrimony, depositing 500 pieces of gold at the feet of the god, erected a Jain temple at Sindhigere; it is further stated that as an endowment to that temple Vishnu Vardanna with his own hands among other gifts, presented to the prayer-teller of the temple certain lands. It is possible that the king might have returned to his former faith in his old age. Maryane and Bharatana have the title *dhandanayaka* (commander-in-chief) and they are called treasurers, judges and chief advisers of the king. The Bellala Rajas were liberal donors to the Jain *alayas* or temples. After the conversion of Vishnu Vardana, the Jain Rajas of Kanara refused to own the suzerainty of the renegade and set up as independent princes. The Bellala family was finally overthrown by Mahomed Sartalla (Mullick saih) a general of Allah-ud-din Khilji in 1309—10 A. D. Baba Bodeen, the famous Mahomedan saint, who had taken up his residence at a fort near Basavapatana, being much oppressed by the reigning prince Vira Bellala, invited the Mussulmans who took the king prisoner. The succeeding kings changed their capital from Dwarasamudra to Tonnur.

The Jains have a great similarity to the Buddhists. According to some authorities, they are Buddhist heretics who were excommunicated at one of the Buddhist councils. But it is more likely that this sect sprang up about the same time as the Buddhists, and is the result of the development of one of the schools of philosophy that sprang up in Maghada in the 5th century, B. C. The Jains are divided into two classes, the *digambaras* and the *swetambaras*, or the sky-clad and the white-robed. The former term means "clothed with the atmosphere," *naked*. When Alexander the Great arrived in the Punjab, he caused to be arrested certain Hindu philosophers, who, according to the Greeks, had given Alexander endless trouble by inciting the free nations to take up arms and fixing a mark of infamy upon those princes that declared

for him. The Greeks called these men the *gymnosophists* (naked philosophers.) There is good reason to suppose that some of these were Jain *digambaras*. The *gymnosophists* taken captive by the order of Alexander are stated to have been of two classes, the *Bratchmanes* and the *Germanes*. The latter name is a corruption of *Sramana*, one of the titles of the Jain sect. Alexander had them tested with very hard questions, threatening death for the first wrong answer, but the answers of the philosophers were remarkably acute and ingenious and won the approbation of the conquering despot* The word *Jain* signifies "victorious," or according to others, "worshippers of the spirit (*jin*)". The Jains are also called *arhita* (worthy) and *siddha* (holy). The priestly class are called *Yatis* and the laity *srawaks*. The Jains reject the authority of the *Vedas* and the *Puranas*. In former times, before persecution compelled them to adopt tenets at variance with their original faith, they had no caste system, and they never observed the practice of compelling widows to perform the ceremony of *sati*. They are not permitted to eat animal food or to drink spirituous liquors. They are very kind to animals, never permitting them to be killed for food, and building and supporting hospitals for sick animals. Every Jain carries about a fly-brush, with which he carefully sweeps the floor before sitting down to eat, lest he should inadvertently crush an insect. The bankers of Ajmere and Mhairwara ransom animals by the payment of money. The strictest Jains do not keep lamps at night, owing to the sacrifice of life caused by the moths flying into them. Komar Pal, the last king of Anhalwara of the Jain faith, would not march his armies in the rains from the unavoidable sacrifice of animal life that must have ensued, and consequently forfeited his throne. According to an edict of the Raja of Mewar, the oil-mill and the potter's wheel suspend their revolutions during four months of the year when insects abound‡ The Jains do not believe in a Supreme Being either as creating or over-ruling matter, which they hold to have existed from eternity. According to some authorities, however, they grant the existence of a Supreme Being, but maintain that the Deity having created the world and placed it under the government of certain laws, no more interferes with it, but lets those laws modify the course of events by their inter-action. This was the

* Plutarch's Alexander.
‡ Tod's Annals of Rajasthan.

doctrine of Epicurus. The Jains believe that certain holy men, by the practice of great devotion, austerity, and the relinquishment of all bodily appetites, have attained to a place of supreme and everlasting happiness called *moksha*, and these beings are the objects of their contemplation and worship. They are seventy-two in number, twenty-four of the past ages, twenty-four of the present, and twenty-four of the future. The first who attained this distinction was Adi Parameswara (the first supreme being); others are Rishoba, Mahavira or Vardhamana, Gomutta Raja and Parsvanatha, the last worshipped in Behar and elsewhere. These beings are called *Tirtankaras* or *siddharus*. An inferior set of beings, to whom a lower heaven called *swarga* is assigned, are the *devatas*. To this lower heaven any person may hope to attain, after the soul has been purified by a course of transmigration through the bodies of inferior animals. The chief duties of Hinduism are recognised as belonging to this second class of the righteous. Though forbiddeng to take animal life the Jains consider it lawful for the Kshatriyas or warrior tribe to kill their enemies in open war. The Jains though engaged in agriculture in Kanara are chiefly merchants and bankers, and hence are a wealthy class. "It is a singular circumstance" says Sherring* "in connection with the trading castes that many of their members are devoted to the Jain religion or to some other modification of the Buddhist faith." Babu Siva Prasad, late of Benares, claimed that one of his ancestors erected a Jain temple in 945 A. D. in the Jeypore territory. A descendant of this person was the celebrated Juggat Seth, the richest banker in Calcutta, and a contemporary of Clive, who was one of the members of the conspiracy formed to dethrone Suraj-ud-dowla. More than half the mercantile wealth of India passes through the hands of the Jain laity. Nine-tenths of the bankers and commercial men of India are natives of Meroodes and these chiefly of the Jain faith.‡

The Jain *basadis* or temples are built like dwelling houses with covered roofs, in which are altars with images of their *Tirtankaras* or saints, in a sitting posture, and nude. The other kind of images are colossal statues, in a standing posture, also nude, hewn out of a rock on a hill. We have noticed examples of these at

* Hindu Tribes and castes.
‡ Tod's Annals of Rajasthan.

Carculla, Einur and Sravana Belgola. It is said that there is a magnificent one of this description near Ahmedabad, built underground for concealment during a time of persecution. The Jains are very munificent in their endowments to temples as well as in the construction of works of public utility. At Mount Abu in Ajmere it is said there is a group of four Jain temples arranged in the form of a cross, the principal being the most westerly one, which is dedicated to Rishoba. It is erected on the site of temples formerly dedicated to Siva and Vishnu. According to tradition this temple was built by Bunal Sah, a Jain merchant of Anhalwara (Puttun), north of Guzerat, who purchased the site from the Raja of Siroki, by paying for its price as much silver coin as would cover the ground on which it was erected. The erection of the temple and the levelling of the site are said to have cost eighteen and a half crores of rupees, and the temple itself was fourteen years in building. Such is a summary of the beliefs and antiquities of this interesting sect of people.

THOMAS C. RICE.

GINSENG.

GINSENG, the celebrated Chinese medicine, is the product of a plant whose natural habitat is distributed over the mountains of Central Asia, China, Korea, and Japan. Under the dense shade of the giant trees of the primeval forests of those regions, this shy little plant, after its winter sleep, peeps out and remains above the ground throughout the warmer months of the year. With a delicate herbaceous stem, from ten to fifteen inches high, that bears at its summit a few soft light-green leaves, the plant must certainly have been altogether inconspicuous but for its clusters of yellow flowers, succeeded in the autumn by its one-seeded, brilliant, scarlet berries. The *Panax Ginseng*, as it is known to Botanists, has been placed in the Natural Order *Araliaceæ* of which, besides the familiar *Arali* or Oliander of our Indian gardens, there are several representatives growing in our midst. The ginseng is a herbaceous annual with a perennial root; that is to say, that while its more succulent stem rises above ground after the snows of winter and continues to mature until the close of the autumn when it flowers fruits and dies down, its thick tapering root lives underground for many years. This root, which ordinarily resembles a carrot, is the part of the plant that has made it famous. Throughout Tartary, China, Korea, and Japan, the great tonic and stimulant properties ascribed to it by millions of the Mongolian race have invested ginseng with such a halo of sanctity that it has long enjoyed the distinction of holding the foremost place among Oriental drugs. The resemblance which many of the fusiform roots of the plant appear to bear to the shape of the human body has, like that of the officinal Mandrake (*Mandragoa microcarpa*, Bert), been regarded by the "Celestials" as sufficiently characteristic to possess medicinal virtues potent enough to fortify the flesh against all the ills that it is heir to. A panacea of panaceas—almost the elixir of life itself—it is perhaps the circumstance that ginseng is, after all, only a *root*, that has operated against its being regarded in China as the very philosopher's *stone* itself. But in the luxurious and fantastic civilization of the almond-eyed "Sons of Heaven," remarkable faiths have sometimes been founded upon almost fictional fractions of fact. Thus, then, has it transpired that while the most recent pronouncements of Occidental Medical Science, with its analytical

mode and its electical Chemistry, find nothing of virtue to extol in ginseng, the greatest of all Oriental peoples, with the hereditary faith of generations of fathers, believe in it still as the most valuable medicine the world has ever seen or produced. To stimulate the young, to invigorate the feeble, to bring back to the wan cheek of the convalescent the ruddy glow of health and pristine beauty, to check the languor or correct the lassitude following indulgence in powerful narcotics such as opium,—these are some of the commoner uses to which ginseng in China has, for centuries past, been daily applied. But when it is claimed that, apart from its tonic and stimulant properties, its habitual use re-juvenates the aged, prolongs life and has been known to stay the hand of Death itself for appreciable periods of time, the wonder is that genuine Korean ginseng is only valued at its weight in gold. The dried roots of the Korean or Mandrin species, *Panax ginseng*, after steaming and clarification, frequently sell at 200 dollars the pound. So that, whatever the application and merits of the drug may be in Chinese medicine, to us its high commercial value as an important product, indispensable in the daily economy of more than 400,000,000 members of the human race, must still possess sufficient weight to enable us to regard it as worthy of our best consideration.

Although the current price of Korean ginseng is very high, the demand for the drug is so great that it is likely to rise higher. The scarcity of the *Panax ginseng*, even in its native wilds that furnished the plant from the earliest times, coupled with the incessant and growing demand for it in China and elsewhere tends not only to enhance the value of the species wherever found, but has also recently had the effect of lending value to inferior products that supplement its scanty supply. The wild species is difficult of cultivation even in China where it is jealously guarded: it is, in fact, restricted to the imperial gardens and the palatial groves of the privileged and wealthy mandarins. From a consideration of these facts it will be apparent that the supply of ginseng, under existing conditions, must continue to be below the demand. This circumstance is, indeed, the chief item that contributes to enhance the high price at which this remarkable product already sells.

Some years ago, another species of ginseng, the *Panax quinquefolium*, was discovered on the mountains of the Eastern United States of America. The knowledge of the fact that the genuine

Korean species was growing extinct and that the roots of the American species were, fortunately, held by Chinese physicians to be a worthy substitute for it, decided the Yankee to introduce the latter to the commerce of China. In time, the prices realized by American ginseng in China rose so high as to not only bring in handsome profits to its exporters, but also to create a special class of nomadic labour to exploit it. This community, under the name of "Sang collectors," have, however, waged such incessant and reckless war against the plant, that it has almost disappeared from its mountain home. But in America, the land of big things, it takes a very big thing to beat the Yankee. With characteristic energy and speculative tact, with the prospect of ruin to an exclusive and lucrative trade before them, they have quite recently turned their attention to the cultivation of the *Panax quinquefolium* in the States. Although a delicate plant, it has already under ordinary methods of systematic culture, responded to treatment so completely as to be reckoned among the well-established and valuable crops of the United States. The care that has been devoted to the raising of the plant in garden-culture in the States has resulted in the production of roots of even finer shape and larger size than those of its wild congener. This interesting fact will not, however, come as a surprise to students of Economic Botany to whom the study of the history of the commoner cultivated plants frequently reveals more remarkable truths. Our cereal-crops, our luscious fruits and finest vegetables and the fantastic and fragrant flowers that bloom in the most beautiful gardens of the civilized world have all descended from humble ancestors. They have been reclaimed from the inconspicuous dwarfishness of remote and indigent barbarism by patient, careful and systematic culture, by hybridization, grafting and other similar skilful arts and operations, until they have evolved into the lovely and priceless organisms which they are to-day. Our mealy potato, for instance, which artifical culture has raised to the eminence of the most coveted tuber we possess, was, within recent times, nothing more than a small " hard, knotty, acrid ball, the size of a boy's marble."

Ginseng, then, though a plant that grows under the dense canopy of evergreen forests, bids fair to become, in all suitable localities, under proper culture, one of the foremost among the root-crops of the future.

In India and Ceylon, in the extensive wilds of Burma and the Malay Peninsula, the best natural conditions for the profitable culture of the plant are those ordinarily prevalent in all areas that spontaneously support evergreen forests. The mild and equable climate of the Malabar Coast, with its abundant rainfall, its warm sunshine, its gentle sea-breezes, copious dew and comparative freedom from frost, presents some of the most favourable conditions existent on the globe for the installation and growth of tropical evergreens. In these localities, therefore, the raising of ginseng is far from likely to be interfered with by the operation of adverse natural factors of any importance. But seeing that, in spite of the prevalence of favourable natural conditions for its growth and well-being, ginseng, with us, would still be but a delicate exotic, its would-be cultivators cannot be too careful to guard against amateur failure or disappointment. At the outset, therefore, the enumeration of a few important and interesting facts regarding the habits and requirements of the *Panax quinquefolium* is likely to prove useful to intending experimenters in the countries indicated above :—

First.—The seed which matures in the autumn of each year, germinates only after eighteen or even twenty months from date of sowing. But, with the various methods of forcing germination known to and practised in Agricultural Science, this delay could be at least attempted to be obviated. Soaking in cold or warm water, exposure to sudden alterations of heat and cold, fermentation, etc., may be adopted in endeavours at expediting the germination of the seed.

Second.—The plant loves moisture and moderate shade, a well-drained, freely-cultivated bed to grow in and luxuriates in dark forest loam or vegetable mould.

Third.—After germination, its herbaceous stem, each year, attains a height of ten or fifteen inches, and, after seeding, dies down at the approach of winter: in the early spring of the year following, a new stem is thrown up from the crown of the root underground. If allowed to remain in the soil, year by year, the root grows larger and thicker and is hard to kill after the plant is once established. It has, in fact, been known to withstand considerable diversity and and extremes of climate.

Fourth.—The longer the root is permitted to remain in the soil, the more valuable does it become; for instance, the product of a single acre of four-year-old ginseng realized, in the States, 40,000 dollars. This result could not have been obtained from a younger crop of equal extent. The quality, then, in addition to the quantity of roots, is materially enhanced by age. This feature, which few crops present, has the distinct advantage of permitting the crop, when low prices prevail, to remain in the soil and go on increasing in value, until the market becomes again favourable enough to sell it to advantage. Though ordinarily harvested between the fourth and sixth years after sowing, plantations of ten and even twelve-year-old ginseng are not uncommon in the United States.

Fifth.—Again, ginseng lends itself to profitable culture on even small areas of land. It would pay to grow it on even a few square yards or feet of ground. Each plant requires very little space to grow in; so that, they can be planted close. Many prosperous ginseng-growers in the States are content with raising a single bed sixteen feet long and four feet wide, such a bed often holding as many as a thousand plants. This remarkable feature of the plant justly entitles it to the consideration of all those who, while possessing a taste or inclination for raising garden-crops, cannot do so for want of space at their disposal. In the localities indicated, there are few who do not possess at least a small plot of ground as a front or back-yard adjoining the dwelling-house.

Sixth.—Once the crop is established, it requires little care beyond what can be devoted to it by even the busiest official or merchant.

With due regard to these facts, the following suggestions are made for the benefit of would-be cultivators of ginseng in India.

A bed, twenty feet long and four feet wide, planted up with ginseng roots or sown with seed three inches apart both in and between the lines would hold 1,280 plants. The seed is very highly priced in America just now and cultivated roots still more so. A thousand seeds sell at ten dollars and roots are from ten to fifteen cents each. It would, therefore, be advantageous to amateur growers to purchase seed. The price of 1,280 seeds would be 12·8 dollars. Seed is obtainable from "The Chinese-American Ginseng Co.," Scranton, Pennsylvania.

The bed should be carefully prepared with the hoe, in a cool shady spot in a garden. The soil should be thoroughly worked up to a depth of a foot at least. All roots and stones should be removed and the soil mixed with about fifty per cent of dark, forest loam or vegetable mould. A light tatty of split bamboo should be erected on posts about six feet high over the bed and a climber of some evergreen species, such as sweet-potato, "Morning-glory," Mucuna, trained to grow over the sides and top of the tatty. The bed should be prepared and the bower grown over it sufficiently in advance to admit of the seeds being sown directly they come to hand. Previous to sowing, the bed should be watered so as to just keep it moist but not wet. The soil should, occasionally, be stirred about and aërated. Care should be taken to so regulate the shade from the climber that no heavy drip falls on to the bed during the rains. It should also be light enough to admit a small but appreciable quantity of over-head sun-light. A trench dug round the bed would prevent too much moisture from entering it during the rains and would also, to some extent, tend to keep away burrowing insects and vermin. In the hot weather, watering by percolation could also be effected by admitting water into this trench. The seeds are small and hard and should not be sown deeper than an inch below the surface of bed. After sowing, the surface of the bed should be covered over with vegetable mould, watered and pressed down. Thereafter, varying with the condition of the weather, watering should be regulated so as to always keep the bed just moist but not wet. When hand-watering with a tin-can with a rose is adopted, it will be observed that the surface of the bed would cake. To remedy this, the bed should be lightly raked or dug up with a garden-prong. Nothing more requires to be done until the plants emerge after germination and continue to grow up steadily but slowly until the autumn. Each plant will be found to possess only three leaves. Each of these is divided into five lobes borne on a long delicate stalk. This character of the plant it is that has secured for it the specific name of *quinquefolium* or five-leaved. During the autumn, the plant lets out a small head of flowers at the summit of the stem at the point from which the leaf-stalks start. These flowers, usually yellow in colour, are succeeded by fruits which, by the end of November, ripen into pulpy scarlet-coloured berries, each with a single hard seed. The seeds should now be collected and stored for future

sowing. The delicate stalk then turns yellow, droops and dies and in a few days, there is no indication on the surface of the bed that any plants were borne by it. Meantime, the roots will have developed from the delicate thread-like filaments at first put out by the plant on germination into one or more tubers which in shape resemble those of the sweet-potato (*Ipomœa Batatas*). In the first year, however, the tubers, are hardly thicker than a quill; but, with each succeeding year, the root thickens, until in the fourth, when it is usually harvested, it averages four inches in length and an inch in diameter. The most important working rules for the successful cultivation of ginseng are:—

1. Keep the soil of the bed soft and moist.
2. Regulate the shade to suit the requirements of growing-stock.

In regard to shade, it is interesting to note that, in each case, the degree or requisite density of it is indicated by the direction in which the stems grow up, as well as by their colour. If they are straight, erect, vigorous and green, it is an indication that the proper amount of shade is maintained overhead as well as on the sides of the bed. If, on the other hand, they bend over or incline towards the sides of the bed, it is evidence that there is too much shade overhead and too little at the sides of the bed. Too much light makes them yellow and too little has the tendency to etiolate the leaves, *i. e.*, render them pale and white.

With each annual crop of seeds, a new bed or beds could be sown, and, in course of time, the original plantation of a single bed extended to any number. Again, after the fourth year, the most promising tubers of good shape should be reserved for planting, and the rest carefully dug up, wiped clean, if possible even washed, and dried *in the shade*. After drying, the roots undergo a process of steaming or clarification, in regard to which, however, the information as yet to hand, is not quite clear. It would appear that these roots should be so carefully handled as not to injure the skin, particularly at the upper end which lets out the annual shoot. Indeed, it is the upper half of the tuber that is the most valuable part of it. When properly steamed, it is said to turn translucent, after which it is dried in the shade and stored away in silken bags that are packed side by side in a wooden box. Frequently, over the

bottom of the box, before packing, a quantity of powdered slaked-lime is spread in an inch-thick layer. Lime is also sprinkled over each layer of the roots. The value of the roots is reduced if they are broken, and being, when dry, very brittle, one cannot be too careful to guard against breakage. Packing closely between soft material, such as cotton, in a clean wooden box would preserve the tubers in good-enough condition for export to China. Should insects, at any time, interfere with the growing stock, a spray of water in which tobacco leaves have been steeped will be found beneficial.

In conclusion, it is hard to find a plant which is likely to repay careful cultivation with anything like the profits attending the raising of ginseng. Amateur cultivators of the plant in India should, however, be carful to grow enthusiastic over it. They would do well to be cautious at first, particularly when it is remembered that it would be not only an exotic with us but also that, although ginseng has been cultivated in the United States for many years, the total area under the crop there at present amounts to only 25 acres. The difficulty of raising the crop in America appears to have been considerable until the experimental stage was passed; our Indian experience may not be that. Moreover, when it is remembered that, in the localities in India where ginseng is likely to grow best, the Tapioca, Sweet-potato, Cocoa, Guava, Cinchona, Papaya, Sweet and Sour-sops, Bilimbi and Carambola (*Averrhoa*, spp.) and many other plants are exotics, mostly introduced from America, and that in the history of their cultivation in India there have been times when their habits and requirements were even less known than is at present the case with ginseng, it will be admitted that the introduction and cultivation of the latter in India is likely to be attended with encouraging results.

A. M. SAWYER.

SAKUNTALA.

UNDER THE SHADOW OF AN IMPENDING CALAMITY.

(A picture by Ravi Varma.)

It was a summer eve. Behind a holt
The sunset flared and touched with red and gold
The clouds that floated in the west in strange
Phantasmal shapes. Out of her homely cot
Came soft and slow Sakuntala, absorbed
In thoughts that quivered red and white upon
Her dimpled cheek. Plain was her dress. Around
Her golden neck and wrists she wore soft wreaths
Of rose and jessamine. Silent and rapt
She glided like a shade amidst the trees,
A ray of beauty stealing through the leaves,
A passing vision of loveliness that seemed
To float upon the pulses of the breeze.
Sudden she stopped beside a rock and sank
Into a rugged seat, by nature hewn
Out of its rough and sterile bosom. There
She sat in mute abstraction looking where,
Through foliage smiling in the mellow light
Of evening, Kanva's holy *ashram* raised
Its modest roof. The past rolled back upon
Her mind. She saw the dreamland of her youth
Filled with the light and life of other days.
Through all her girlhood ways she went and grew
Again the careless girl she had been 'mong
The marigolds of bygone summer eves.
Then came the passages of Love and Hope,—
The strange unrest, the meeting and the thrill
Of newsprung love, Suspense and the last resolve,
And passion's sweet finale of bridal joy.
Then came the parting and the grief, the hours
Of sombre thought spent by the moonlit stream,
Or breezy amaranth grove, when like a shade
She moved, in love-sick agony, among
The memories of the past. Pale grew her face
Like a lily beat with rain that droops its head
And sends the languishing sweetness of its heart

Into the sunshine laughing through the showers.
So pale she looked, while on her tremulous frame
The evening gales, unheeded, breathed their store
Of woodland sweets. She sighed. She seemed to feel
The shadow of a strange and nameless grief.
E'en then an amorous yearning crept o'er her
To meet Dushyanta whose parting words, like notes
Of music heard in trance, sent through her soul
A fleeting thrill of ecstasy. A rose
Strung carelessly, dropped from her neck, rolled down
Her heaving breast and shed its petals on
The insensate bosom of the rock. She mused
And sighed—"E'en so my joys are shed. Could I
But kiss thy grief away, sweet blossom, and
With the silken touch of tenderness knit back
Thy faded charms,—but no! Thou wakest now
A note of sadness in my heart. I read
My fate in thine, poor waif of the ruthless breeze.
Night comes: this strange oppression grows on me.
In the west unpurpling through the breezy boughs,
There is a joy that sends a quivering flush
Of rapture among the thinly-sifted clouds.
The air, fraught with the odours of the vale,
Breathes gladness o'er the evening jessamine
That opens now its snow-white bosom to
The blushes of the west. Soon will the stars,
Like specks of concentrated joy laid in
The vault of blue, show forth their twinkling orbs
Around the grey moon waxing yet upon
The apex of a cloud. Alas! for me
To droop while all the world is lapped in smiles,
And, claiming fellowship with each fading flower,
Let go the pleasance of the hour."

O grief!

What touches sweet to Beauty dost thou give!—
One line of melancholy on the brow,
One trembling touch of pallor on the cheek,
One passion-drop that leaves its liquid trace
Of love, to sweeten loveliness itself!

P. S. HARI RAO.

MALAYALAM LITERATURE: ITS MAKERS.

IV.

RULERS and statesmen are often regarded as prosaic in their character and as incapable of either depth of emotion or the strength of imagination of the poet. Accustomed always to regard the actual, as opposed to the ideal, side of things and absorbed in concerns that claim more of the exercise of cool calculation than of a vivid imagination, it is but natural that they should have neither the inclination nor the leisure to devote themselves to the courtship of the Muse. But it does not follow from this that there is any antagonism or incompatibility between the two. On the other hand, there have been various instances to the contrary. Alfred the Great of England, James the First of Scotland, Babar the Moghul, and Bhoja, the Hindu king, were all known to have been wise rulers and distinguished poets or authors: and coming nearer home we have in Karthika Thirunal Maharajah of Travancore an illustrious example of a poet in purple. It is worthy of remark here that the rulers and princes of Travancore have always been good scholars themselves. The court of Travancore has ever been the resort of scholars; *Pundits* and authors, who were drawn thither from the different parts of the kingdom and from abroad by the fame of its sovereigns, and the protection and patronage so liberally given them, have always been one of the most characteristic virtues of our rulers. They invariably spent their youth in the study of the principles of Hindu Religion, Polity and *Sastras*, which are reckoned as the most indispensable requisites in a Hindu ruler for the proper conduct of the administration. They also devoted themselves to the study of Sanskrit poetry, grammar and logic without a knowledge of which all education was deemed incomplete and superficial. The assiduity with which the Travancore Princes strove, day and night, to render themselves worthy of the solemn responsibilities that awited them point to the very high ideal which always inspired them. This solicitude on the part of the rulers for the welfare of the people entrusted to their charge is the secret of the popularity they have always enjoyed. They seem to have realised the truth of the couplet:—

> " A tyrant's rule in rigour is expressed
> The father yearns in the true prince's breast."

Karthika Thirunal Maharajah inherited from his illustrious uncle a territory, largely extended by recent conquests, and a responsibility proportionately increased. Peace and order had to be restored in the newly conquered provinces; petty chiefs had to be subdued; frontiers had to be fortified against aggressive neighbours; assistance had to be rendered to allied states; a powerful foe had to be resisted and repressed; alliance had to be formed with foreign powers; refugees had to be protected and a host of other things had to be done. In the midst of these multifarious duties, all of which have been successfully done, the Maharajah managed to devote himself to literary pursuits. Many distinguished scholars and poets graced the Travancore court at this time, among whom may be mentioned the versatile Kunchan Nampiar and the talented Unnayi Varier.

Prince Karthika Thirunal was born in 899 M. E. In 904 His Highness became the Elaya Rajah. His education was carefully provided for by his uncle, and before he passed his teens, he became a good Sanskrit scholar, mastered several other languages, and underwent a course of military training. In 917 His Highness in person led an army against the Kayankulam chief with success. In 933, on the death of his illustrious uncle, he became the Maharajah and ruled the country for a period of forty years with tact and success. The reign of this sovereign was a period of peace and prosperity to the country. His Highness died in 973 M. E.

The *Kathakali*, invented by the Rajah of Kottarakarai and improved upon by that of Kottayam, received additional polish and grace at the hands of Karthika Thirunal Maharajah. Though the model set by his predecessors has not been departed from, His Highness effected certain changes which his good taste had dictated to him. The dress and equipments of the actors have been improved and made less grotesque, and the mode of representation was also modified.

The following are His Highness' works which are seven in number; *viz.*, (1) Rajasuyam, (2) Subhadra Haranam, (3) Bakavadham, (4) Gandharva Vijayam, (5) Panchali Swayam-Varam, (6) Kaliyana Sougandhikam, (7) Narakasura Vadham (half). All the works have been printed and have been favourably received by the public, judging from the frequency with which most of these have been acted. Barring the large number ot Sanskrit words employed, these works may be characterised as easy, elegant and charming—

adhering neither to the plain style of the Kottarakara *Kathakali* nor the pompous and affected diction of the Kottayam plays. It speaks volumes for a ruler's industry and solicitude for the good of his people, who, though overburdened with the cares of state, could snatch odds and ends of time to devote himself to the pursuits of literature which, while they afforded a sort of relaxation to his overworked mind, served also to convey instruction and enjoyment to his subjects. This circumstance along with the fact of *Kathakali* being liberally patronised by the sovereign, has impressed this sort of production and performance with the stamp of Royal recognition and enhanced its worth and dignity in the eyes of the public. From this time *Kathakali* like a coin issued from the Royal mint and bearing the impress of royalty upon it commanded a wide circulation. It is certainly an ennobling spectacle to see a sovereign taking a direct part in the education of his subjects and contributing to the development among them of a taste for literature. At a time when there were no public schools, when books were rare and when the country *Asan* held almost absolute sway in the realms of public instruction, the creation of a class of productions which could embrace within its influence even the most ignorant and the illiterate among the people must be welcomed as a direct help to education and as an earnest of the numerous educational facilities which his successors have since conferred.

His nephew, Prince Rama Varma, who became the Elaya Rajah in 961 after the death of his brother was equally, if not more, distinguished in learning than his uncle. His learning and literary taste early attracted his uncle's notice who greatly encouraged him in the pursuit of literature. It is said that on one occasion the Maharajah had left unfinished on his table a *sloka* in his drama of *Narakasura Vadham*, and the Prince happening to come to his study and seeing the unfinished *sloka*, completed it and left it on the table. When the Maharajah returned, he found to his suprise and joy that the *sloka* was appropriately completed. He made enquiries as to who it was, and learning that it was done by his nephew, sent for him and speaking a few encouraging words asked him to complete the drama himself which was done to the great satisfaction of the Maharajah. He subsequently wrote four other plays; *viz.*, (1) Ambareesha Charitham, (2) Poothana Moksham, (3) Rugmaniswayamvaram, and (4) Poundraka Vadham. These

works are characterised by great learning, beauty of expression and subtlety of thought, enlivened by a glowing imagination which imparts to it a light and colouring of the brightest tint. As might be expected, the Sanskrit element greatly predominates in them. The various devices of the rhetorical art are profusely employed. He also wrote a number of other Sanskrit works which have been admired for their beauty and learning. All these works, it must be remembered, had been written before he was thirty-two years old—a fact which goes to show the extraordinary character of his genius, industry, and scholarship. But unfortunately he was cut off in the very bloom of his life to the deep grief of the Maharajah and his subjects. By his death, literature lost one of its ardent votaries and the State a promising and distinguished prince.

We have already seen that one of the distinguished authors that adorned the court of Karthika Thirunal Maharajah was Unnayi Varier. He was born, it is surmised, about 950 M. E. at Irinjalakudai in the Cochin State. After finishing his education in his own native place, he left for Trivandrum in his twenty-fifth year and lived there for a long time under the protection and patronage of the Maharajah. Here he became acquainted with Kunchan Nampiar of *Ottumthullal* fame, with whom he contracted a close intimacy which afterwards ripened into friendship. During his stay there, probably at the suggestion of the Maharajah, Varier wrote a Malayalam drama, called *Nalacharitham*, which may be regarded as the best of its kind in the language. While at Trivandrum, he had ample opportunities of witnessing *Kathakali* performances in their best form and of reading and digesting some of the best works of previous dramatic writers. These two circumstances, coupled probably with the express wish of the Maharajah, seemed to have stimulated him in the production of this work.

He found that the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* have already been indented upon by previous writers, and, wishing to strike out a new line for himself, turned his attention to quite a different theme round which popular interest had long gathered itself. The story of Nala, like that of Rama, possessed a charm in itself. There are many points of resemblance between the two with also some very striking differences. The exile of a husband and wife from their home brought about by a relative, their wanderings and adventures in a forest, their separation from each other, and

their subsequent re-union and return home form the common theme of both. They both inculcate the same lesson of conjugal fidelity and devotion, and they both exemplify the viscissitudes of human life. But in the one, the lesson is of a deeper significance. Rama and Sita are human only in form; but Nala and Damayanthi are human both in form and being.

The charm and attractiveness of the story of Nala have been heightened by the skilful manner in which the subject has been handled by the poet. *Nalacharitham* is a play in four parts, each being intended for a night's performance. All the four parts are equally interestiug though it may be said that the second and third parts are specially so from the tragic nature of the incidents dealt with and the pathetic interest which attaches itself to the sufferings and privations of the unfortunate couple. In describing the dark as well as the bright sides of human life, the author seems to be equally at home. As a *Kathakali*, *Nalacharitham* stands by itself. It is tragi-comical in plot; it is more dramatic than most other dramas in the language; and it has a larger proportion of Malayalam words than in others. The gradual development of the plot is marked by the division of the play into parts.

There can hardly be two opinions with regard to the merits of this work. It is one of the most popular plays ever written in the language. It is interesting alike to the student in the closet and to the spectator in the box: in thought and sentiments it is highly educative; in plot and incident it is varied and stiking; and in style and language it is sweet and charming. A highly poetic diction embellished with rhymes of every conceivable variety and by the use of bold and original figures forms the chief characteristic of the play. The moral tone that pervades the play is of the highest order. The dialogues throughout the play are spirited and lively, and the soliloquies introduced here and there are philosophical and solemn. The dialogue between the Rajahamsa and Damayanthi in the first part of the play is exquisitely charming both in language and sentiments; and the sudden outburst of grief on the part of the latter, on her first discovering Nala's desertion of her at midnight in a lonely and dreadful forest, is wrought in language of the highest pathos; and the whole scene cannot fail to draw forth tears even from the most hard-hearted of spectators. Scattered throughtout

the piece like sparkling gems are many a wise saying and wholesome reflection; a few instances of these rendered into English are here given:—

1. Though youth has dawned childishness still lingers.
2. The good to good must ever join.
3. Rivers to Ocean's embrace glide
   No hill can draw them to his side.
4. He who breaks his plighted word
   Doth a sin, the most abhorred.
5. If gods are on deception bent
   What earthly aid can such prevent?
6. Why try to dam a torrent's sway
   When waters all have rushed away?
7. To lighten sorrow's heavy load
   Becomes the mission of the good.
8. The wise well-read in *Sastras* rare
   The wife, a man's best-half, declare
   When pain and anguish wring our hearts
   The soothing unction she imparts.
9. The daily vows a wife observes,
   Her virtue which like armour serves,
   And chastity to fulness wrought,
   All three protect her like a fort.

One characteristic feature of the play is the free use which the author makes of purely Malayalam words side by side with Sanskrit ones without thereby sacrificing dignity, force, or elegance. On the other hand, their happy conjunction contributes greatly to the sweetness, clearness, and liveliness of the diction. He has thus shown that the contempt with which purely Malayalam words used hitherto to be regarded by Sanskrit scholars was altogether undeserved. The author's keen sense of beauty and harmony enabled him to blend the two elements in so skilful a manner as to produce the most artistic effect.

It must be remembered that the *slokas* and *padas* in a *Kathakali* are metrical in form. The dialogues are not spoken but sung. They have to be adapted to the required metre and adjusted to the required time. The language used must harmonise with the thoughts and sentiments expressed. "The sound must seem an echo to the sense." In short, a *Kathakali* writer ought to be not merely a poet but a musician as well; not merely a scholar but also an artist. In spite of all these difficulties our author seems to have been completely successful. Throughout the piece he has displayed considerable learning, refined taste, and artistic skill. *Nalacharitham* will ever remain the best production of its kind in the

language. It skill continues to be read, sung and acted with ever-increasing interest, and though judging from the tendency of modern times, it may, in common with other *Kathakalis,* cease to be represented on the stage, the work is likely to retain its hold on the public mind for a long time to come, by its literary and artistic merit.

Before concluding this part of the article, I should like to say a few words with regard to one or two other writers who have more or less distinguished themselves in the field of dramatic literature. Raghavan Nampiar and Ravi Varman Thampi are two other writers of note ; the former is said to have belonged to the same family to which Kunchan Nampiar belonged and is believed to have been his nephew. He seems to have flourished somewhere between 950 and 1000 M. E, and was according to tradition a dependant of the then Rajah of Palghaut. He is the author of *Sakunthalam,* a dramatic work in nine parts, the subject matter, the plot and the characters all being borrowed from the inimitable production of the same name of *Kalidasa.* The work is of considerable literary merit, the language being characterised by grace, simplicity and ease. But for some reason or other it has always remained a mere "closet drama," being more often read than acted. The fact seems to be that Nampiar's play was not in keeping with the taste already created and developed by the previous writers whose works were all characterised by shortness, simplicity of plot, with exciting incidents ending generally in some tragic event or comical adventure so as to excite and interest even the most ignorant among the audience. But in *Sakunthalam* the plot is very intricate ; the end is too long delayed ; the incidents in themselves are not very striking so that only the intelligent can follow with interest the windings of the plot to the far off end.

Ravi Varman Thampi was born in 958 M. E. at Trivandrum and was the son of a daughter of one of the nephews of His Highness Karthika Thirunal Maharajah. In his youth he seems to have received a sound education, and became before he was sixteen, a good Sanskrit scholar. His first attempt at poetical composition was made, it is said, in his fourteenth year when he made a few verses of his own and laid them before Karthika Thirunal Maharajah who, though pleased at heart with this

effusion of the youthful poet, refrained from expressing his approbation; but asked him merely to study further before he composed verses. This genius however received recognition from the sovereign in the shape of a monthly allowance from the palace. It was largely added to from time to time by his successors. At first his genius displayed itself in the production of occasional verses and a number of miscellaneous writings; but it was only towards the latter part of his life that he turned his hand to the composition of Malayalam dramas. He lived to a good old age and died in 1031 in his 73rd year. He wrote three plays; *viz.*, (1) Keechaka Vadham (2) Dakshayagam and (3) Utharaswayamvaram. His style is remarkable for its grace and polish, and for the peculiar cadence brought about by the blending of Malayalam and Sanskrit words, chosen with fine taste and discrimination. In this respect, the *Kathakalis* of Thampi and Varier are almost on a par, but what distinguishes the latter is the vigour and flow of the language and the variety and multiplicity of the figures and rhymes employed. The one dazzles us by its brilliancy, and the other pleases us by its gentle grace. All these plays enjoy a well-deserved popularity. Dekshayagam, it is said, was composed at the special request of Uthram Thirunal Maharajah (1022—1036) while he was Elaya Rajah. The Maharajah himself was a learned scholar; and was the author of an excellent drama, called *Simhadhwaja charithram*. He was a great patron of Malayalam drama which seemed to have reached its zenith in his reign. His Highness had in his service a troupe of *Kathakali* players composed of the cleverest and the most distinguished actors of the time. Great improvement was also effected in the mode of acting, the dress of the actors and the scenic arrangements of the stage. But with the demise of this Maharajah, *Kathakali* seems to have more or less lost its former prestige and to have ceased to command the same interest from the public, owing probably to the change that was gradually taking place in the tastes of the people with the spread of English education and with their increased acquaintance with English and Sanskrit dramas. It is to be regretted that this innocent means of public enjoyment is gradually dying out without its place being taken by anything better.

It is time that 'natakam' or the pure drama took its place for a time; but it ruled the stage only for a very short period. The enthusiasm of the people over it soon subsided, and this sort of

performance was now become almost as rare as the one which it tried to supplant. *Kathakali* still lingers in nooks and corners of the country; but it lingers as the relic of a past age, and as the embodiment of a taste that has almost disappeared. It is not likely to regain its lost prestige or its place of importance among public amusements. If it is to be revived at all, it should be in altogether a new form and in conformity with modern tastes and sentiments. Its artificial character should be dispensed with, the dress of the actors should be more natural; the grotesque painting on the face should be done away with, and the dialogues should be spoken by the actors themselves. *Kathakali* companies have become few and their patrons fewer. Except in temples, during festivals, they are not even heard of; except, perhaps, by University students these works are seldom or never read. Nevertheless, it would be ungrateful on our part not to acknowledge the services they have rendered to the public. They have helped to instruct many an ignorant mind, and to enliven many a dull interval in our life, to give variety and beauty to our literature and to enhance the vocabulary of our language by the addition of a number of metaphorical words and phrases which impart life and beauty to our writings and charm and piquancy to our conversation. How often, when witnessing these performances, have our hearts throbbed with warm sympathy, shuddered with ghastly horror, or elated with ennobling joy! Is this not an education in itself? Life is but a drama—acted; a drama is life—re-acted. What truth, what poetry, what keen insight into human nature are embodied in the well-known lines of the Poet:

> "All the world is a stage,
> And all the men and women merely players."

R. EASWARA PILLAI.

(To be continued.)

THE PARIAH IN MADRAS.

THE present is a time of transition. Old landmarks of caste are disappearing, old superstitions are decaying, old ideas of place and position are finding their level; and, more than all, the traditional differentiation of employment is yielding to cosmopolitan conceptions of the dignity of labour. The conservative and exclusive caste of Brahmin, with a wise prescience of the future, has emancipated itself--or more correctly speaking—is emancipating itself from all that tends to hinder its advancement on Western lines. Nowhere is this tendency more visible than in a Presidency city where Brahmins of all shades of opinion and thought have agreed to succeed in the life material. The life spiritual, rightly or wrongly, appears to be a negligible quantity in the struggle for existence. Here and there is a Vivekananda unknown to fame yielding unto God the things that be God's. But the modern Brahmin is wise in his generation and adjusting himself to his environment; he mainly wishes to render unto Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's. He is of the world, worldly, and I don't blame him. To advance is to succeed; to stand still is to derish!

At the other end of the ladder of modern social life the Pariah is also awakening to the inexorable decrees of necessity. If that aristocratic section of the Indian public, the Brahmin, has, with remarkable aptitude, adapted itself to the new conditions of life under British rule—that outcast section—the Pariah in Madras City has advanced quite as remarkably. While the Brahmin remains through all evolutions the Brahmin, and is proud of his ancestry and birth, the Pariah to hide his descent will resort to euphemisms and subterfuges; and in some cases will indignantly repudiate his forebears. His great refuge is the Christian fold. As long as he stands on the outermost fringe of civilisation, and is without the pale of literary culture, he is, so to speak, naked and not ashamed. In that state of unregenerate and original nudity the Pariah rejoices in manual labour, in being the hewer of wood and drawer of water of every one who is above him in the social scale. With a robust Philistinism that does him credit, he often declines to enter the Christian fold and resolutely clings to his many gods and his animal sacrifices; and, on the whole, he is no worse, morally, in that state of original sin than he is when he professes the religion of his

Christian masters. Mr. Frankfort Moore, in that very clever and interesting story of his "One Fair Daughter," observes with some degree of truth:—"To thousands of people a religion without a Hell is as insipid as a salad without vinegar." The Pariah's original belief in devils, many and great, oftener keeps him on the thorny path of virtue than his trust in a beneficent deity who pardons, if but the sinner repents. There are still thousands of Pariahs in Madras as civilised as their Christian brethren, who have refused conversion, but who nevertheless make good servants and good citizens. So necessary to the comfort of the public is the Pariah that orthodox Brahmin gentlemen may be seen employing Pariah coachmen and *syces*. Western civilisation has humanised caste and has made possible the brotherhood of man, and the Pariah has been emancipated. The Christian Pariah has become "Native Christian" caste; and aspires after and has achieved, among other things, university honours, the wearing of the surplice, and the rod of the pedagogue. Of this advanced and highly developed section I have nought to say. The Pariah in whom I delight is the happy-go-lucky, laughter-loving, hand-to-mouth vagabond who is the despair of houswifes and the burden of society. If the Brahmin takes his pleasures sadly the Pariah seizes every opportunity to make merry with zest. He repudiates the idea that it is better to be in the house of mourning than in the house of feasting. Be it a Mahomedan or a Hindu festival, a Christian or a pagan holiday, the Pariah makes it an occasion for jollification. What have the trammels of caste or creed, the barriers of position or place, to do with his enjoyment of the Mohurram, the Pongal or the "Kissmiss" holidays? It is enough that it *is* a holiday! "Is there not something to be got from the rich man's table at these times?"—says the Lazarus of our Indian public life—and thereupon he adjusts himself to the occasion and goes not empty away.

A social philosopher, whom only a Whyte Melville could pourtray to the life, the Pariah generally wants but little here below. His standard of comfort varies with his fortunes, but he prefers primitive predilections. It is so much more convenient and sociable to take his matutinal "coffee and oppers," hot from the hand of the often fair, and sometimes frail, manufacturer and vendor of such comestibles. What if the gutter, with its unspeakable odours, wafts a protest to such goings on. "Eat, drink and be merry for to-morrow we die," as a working principle of life is sound in theory

and possible in practice. The Pariah is an artist in his way, and loves colour. He, his wife and his cousin and his aunt rejoice in aniline dyes of the most glaring description—and yet, withal, how skilfully are they grouped and artistically blended! Silver ornaments tinkle on the toes, and glass bangles clink on the round arms of the women, and work and healthy exercise has moulded her form in graceful curves—but the trail of an odour is over it all! For the Pariah, I mean the average, uneducated Pariah whatever his other virtues, Christian or heathen, civilised or not, is not clean—and the disregard of all sanitary precautions appears to agree with him. Of some ancient king it is recorded that to avoid being poisoned he partook of minute quantities of various kinds of poison till his system was able to resist an ordinary quantum of any particularly deleterious drug. From birth to senility the average Pariah in Madras lives and moves and has his being in such insanitary surroundings that the plague and the pestilence pass him by, and from ordinary illnesses he seems exempt. "Nature tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," and the air of gutters and sinks and stables and dust heaps, is an atmosphere in which the Pariah flourishes like a tree planted by the waterside. Phrenologically, the Pariah is acquisitive, but he does not save. He is large-hearted and will freely part with his possessions in the cause of friendship or charity. Drink is his curse. For the rest, he is ubiquitous and indispensable.

A. P. SMITH.

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ESSENTIALS OF BUDDHISM.

X.

BUDDHISM NOT ASCETICISM.

SALVATION is to be sought neither in austerities nor in the indulgence of worldly pleasures. The Blessed one has taught the middle path.

Neither abstinence from flesh, nor going naked, nor shaving the head, nor wearing matted hair, nor dressing in a rough garment, nor covering oneself with dirt, nor sacrificing to Agni, will cleanse a man whose mind is full of delusion.

Neither reading the Vedas, nor sacrificing to the gods, nor fasting often, nor lying on the ground, nor keeping hard and strict vigils, nor repeating prayers will cleanse a man who is in error.

Neither offerings to priests, nor self-mortification, nor the performance of penances, nor the observance of rites can purify the man who has not overcome his passions.

It is not the eating of flesh that constitutes uncleanness, but anger, drunkenness, obstinacy, bigotry, deception, envy, self-praise, disparaging others, superciliousness and evil intentions—these cause uncleanness.[1]

Mortification does not conduce even to worldly knowledge; much less can it lead to a triumph over the senses. By suffering the emaciated devotee can only produce confusion and sickly thoughts in his mind.

All mortification is vain so long as selfishness leads to lust after pleasures in this world or in another world. But he in whom egotism has become extinct is free from lust; he will desire neither worldly nor heavenly pleasures, and the satisfaction of his natural wants will not defile him. He may eat and drink to satisfy the needs of life.

On the other hand, sensuality of every kind is enervating. The sensual man is a slave of his passions, and pleasure-seeking is vulgar and degrading.

But to satisfy the necessities of life is not evil. To shelter the body from heat and cold, to protect it against the numerous external causes of pain, to save it as far as possible from fatigue, to eliminate sensations that are disagreeable, in short, to keep the body in good

1. Amagandha Sutra.

health, is a duty, for otherwise we shall not be able to keep our minds strong and clear and attain enlightenment.

This is the middle path *(madhya màrga)* that keeps aloof from both extremes of sensuality and asceticism.

Starting as it does from the first great truth that sorrow and misery are connected with every conceivable form of egoism, the Dharma does not consign man to the sensualist's "let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." It spurns not only luxury but also all asceticism. "The founders of Buddhism," says Mrs. Rhys Davids, "deliberately and explicitly rejected the method of pure asceticism. The concluding words of the *Majjhima Nikàya* afford a crucial illustration of this. In the *Indriya bhàvana Sutta* (on the cultivation of the faculties of sense), the pupil of a Brahmin ascetic school is asked by Gaùtama whether, and how his master Parasariya teaches this cultivation. The answer is, yes, with the eye he sees no object, with the ear he hears no sound. On that system, rejoins Gautama, the blind and the deaf have their "indriyas" best cultivated. The youth is unable to reply, and Gautama, shielding, as it were, his confusion, explains to Ananda the otherness of the "supreme sense-culture of the noble (Aryan) discipline"—namely, that the student is taught, on every occasion of sense-consciousness, whether pleasant or painful, to discriminate it (the sense-impression), and appraise it *psychologically, and then ethically, viz.*, as a mode of feeling, as compound and material, as inferior to disinterestedness *(upeksha)*, the excellent attitude which he seeks to maintain or reinstate. In this he gradually grows "worried, wearied, disgusted," by the perpetual threefold hedonistic reaction to sense. His attitude towards his impressions is become cognitive and analytic of them *as such*. And through the regulative power of the intellect he is able to dictate to himself how and how much he shall feel." Spurning both sensuality and asceticism the Dharma urges a healthy simplification in living, discerning that the higher life must be rooted in hygiene, and not in hysteria. It therefore says of the mortification of all desire, of the stultification of the will, "that way madness lies." It freely accepts the inevitable, but, instead of despairing, diverts the current of desire from things that cannot satisfy—because they cannot endure—to aims intellectual and ethical. It fosters and strengthens aspiration and resolve in the effort to persevere towards the complete attainment of the blessedness of *nirvana*.

"What is the fruit of the thought of the *bodhisatva* (an aspirant after bodhi)?—Answer:—Higher morality, higher perception of truth, great love, great pity." "A spirit exempt from anger; a spirit of compassion for the erring; a spirit which forbids falling away from wisdom; a spirit of perseverance to the end."

"What is his rule of duty?—To attach himself with high desire to all laws of virtue; not to despise the ignorant; to be a friend to all men; to expect no more from new births."

"What his bliss?—The joy of having seen a Buddha, of having heard the Dharma; of not repenting in giving; of having procured the good of all creatures."

"What his health?—The sound body; the mind not drawn to perishing things; bringing all beings into right and equal condition; freedom from doubt on every point relating to the Dharma."

"To what should he adhere? To meditation; to beneficence; to compassionate love; to the disciplines of wisdom."

"Since consciousness, body, life, self, are impermanent, therefore is there perfection in morality, in tranquility, in wisdom, in release."

Such ideas completely disprove the contention of those who hold that the essence of Buddhism is quietism, apathy and egoistic self-concentration. It seems almost incredible how any one, possessing the least acquaintance with Buddhist literature or history, could regard the Buddhist ideal as the result of a Schopenhauerian pessimism as to the worth and promise of life. It is indeed true that the Buddha recognised the existence of suffering and misery around us as honestly and fully as the deepest pessimist. It is also true that he insists strongly on the necessity of renouncing all sensuality, worldly ambitions, feverish cravings, and the longing for mere life as such here or in another world. But this does not imply that the Blessed One condemns all life, because it results, and must inevitably result, in more pain than bliss. If he condemns as worthless what ordinary men consider natural and valuable, it is because he finds them to be deflements *(asravas)* which serve as hindrances to the attainment of the perfection that is possible. Mere quantity of life, without quality, stands self-condemned as stupid and ignoble. What is wanted is life with noble aims and aspirations, full of culture and refinement, philosophic enthusiasm,

and earnest devotion to the good of others. And of such life the Dharma can never say that we have enough. The *Mahaparinirvana Sutra* says:—

> Righteousness, earnest thought, wisdom and freedom sublime,
> These are the truths realised by Gautama far renowned.
> Knowing them, he, the knower, proclaimed the truth to the brethren.

Nor does the Dharma fail to take note of the fact that the world runs desperately after happiness in some form or other. The *Dharmapada* teaches:—

"Let us live happily, then, free from hatred among the hating! Among men who hate let us dwell free from ill will!"

"Let us live happily, then, free from ailments among the ailing! Among men sick at heart let us dwell free from repining!"

"Let us live happily, then, free from care among the careworn! Among men governed by greed let us be free from greed!"

"Let us live happily, then, we who have no hindrances! We shall be like the bright gods who feed upon happiness!"

"He who applies himself to the teaching of the Buddha brightens this world, like the moon when free from clouds."

Without overlooking the need of happiness for mankind the Dharma at the same time points out that happiness will not be found if it is directly sought, just as one aiming at the bull's eye of a target inevitably misses it. Nay more; it teaches that life would not be worth living if its aim were the mere satisfaction of egoistic desires, that a life worth living is one that is full of active aspiration for something higher and nobler. If happiness in the endæmonistic sense were the ideal of human life, it were better to return to the savage, if not the animal, state. Can it be denied that the animal and the savage are more happy than the civilised man of culture? No doubt civilization and culture have removed many evils and created many new comforts, but with them have also come into existence many new, previously unknown sufferings, which are becoming keener and more intense with advancing refinement and increasing sensibility. While the animal suffers only from actually existing pain, man's reason has made him multiply his afflictions by anticipation and rumination. As Kant has said, if the special purpose of a being endowed with reason and will were only its self-preservation and prosperity, or, in a word, its happiness, the creature has been badly equipped to secure the end in view. A pig with its instincts is perfectly happy, while a Socrates highly endowed with reason is always unhappy. Mere happiness cannot therefore be the aim of humanity.

It is not life that enslaves men, but the cleaving to life. It is not the severing of the ties of life that constitutes renunciation, but the utter eradication of egoism. As all life is a struggle of some sort, struggle we must to live. But he that struggles should not struggle in the interest of self against truth and righteousness. He who struggles in the interest of self will have no reward, but he who struggles for righteousness and truth will secure a triumph even in failure. He who renounces the world to avoid the struggle of life, to lead a life of ease, will have no reward, for indolence is defilement. Only by energetic work is peace to be found, and only by strenuous effort can the blissful haven of *nirvana* be reached.

The Dharma of the Blessed One does not require any one to go into homelessness, but it requires him to free himself from selfishness, to cleanse his mind, and to give up the thirst for pleasure. As the *Dharmapada* says: "Restrained of hand, restrained of foot, restrained of voice, restrained in all, reflective, calm, content, alone, it is he that is a true Bhikshu." He who longs for perfection should leave other considerations behind and apply himself with all his energy to obtain enlightenment. But he who has duties to perform at home or elsewhere should not shirk his responsibility, but put his whole heart into his task. While diligent and energetic, if he struggles in life, without envy, hatred and lust, if he lives not in the interest of self so that he himself may be great or powerful or rich or famous, but leads a life of righteousness, of forbearance, of love, of charity, and of truth, then surely he will attain peace and bliss.

Man has no doubt furthered evolution unconsciously and for personal ends, but Buddhism teaches that it is his duty to do so deliberately and systematically for the attainment of perfection. Buddhism is neither pessimistic nor optimistic; on the other hand it is melioristic. It accepts fully the truth of pessimism, that life is not worth its own troubles if we live merely for the enjoyment of life. It therefore places the value of life in ideals that transcend the narrow limits of individual existence. It aims not merely at the alleviation of present suffering, but also the creation of conditions under which no suffering can exist. As Aristotle says, "the wise man seeks after freedom from pain, not pleasure." So does the Buddhist direct his actions to the prevention and removal of suffering without caring for any pleasure which may thereby be attained or promoted.

On one occasion the Blessed One was asked to declare what he regarded as the blessings of life. He did not like the pessimist ; say ;

> " Count o'er the joys thine hours have seen,
> Count o'er thy days from anguish free ;
> And know, whatever thou hast been,
> 'Tis something better—not to be."

On the contrary he replied :

> " The succouring of mother and father
> The cherishing of child and wife,
> The following of a peaceful calling,
> This is the greatest blessing.
>
> " Acts of charity, a pious life,
> Aid rendered to your kin,
> And actions that are blameless,
> This is the greatest blessing.
>
> " Self-discipline and purity,
> The comprehension of the four great truths,
> And the attainment of *nirvana*,
> This is the greatest blessing."—*Mahamangala Sutta.*

XI.

THE NOBLE EIGHTFOLD PATH.

(*Arya Ashtanga Marga.*)

The unwise man, ignorant of the four great truths, is always under the sway of lust, hatred and delusion. If by hearing the Dharma, or by companionship with the good, or by the practice of virtue, or by enlightened reflection, he arrives at the perception of the four great truths, he is indeed fortunate, for he has found the noble path that will take him to the city of the Great Deliverance.

Straight and broad indeed is the noble path that leads to perfect bliss, but the journey along it is so difficult that no pilgrim can reach the goal unless he is equipped with the eight essentials. He must have the torch of right belief (*Samyak drishti*) to light his way. Right aspiration (*Samyak samkalpa*) must be his guide. Right speech (*Samyak vak*) must form his dwelling place on the road. Right action (*Samyak karma*) must be his erect gait, and right living (*Samyak ajiva*) must form his refreshments on the way. Right effort (*Samyak vyayama*) must be his steps, right thought (*Samyak smriti*) his breath, and right tranquillity (*Samyak samadhi*) his sleeping couch.[2]

The real history of the development of man consists in the history of his beliefs. History, whether it be of the arts, or of the sciences, or of society, or of religion, always involves an account of

2. Asvagosha's Buddhacharitra.

man's beliefs and their growth. Men's doings are largely a reflection of their beliefs. Consequently all superstitious customs and practices are the result of an irrational state of mind flowing logically from wrong beliefs. It is therefore natural that right belief should form the first equipment for the pilgrimage on the noble path of purity. The spring of all action is motive, and the intellectual impetus to motive is again belief. Hence only right belief can give the necessary stimulus to right action. Animistic and metaphysical beliefs have been the fruitful sources of religious error. The right starting point for religion is the existence of misery, the first great truth taught in the Dharma, and not the belief in god or soul. The right comprehension of the existence of misery and its cause will enable one to find easily the means of removing it. But the erroneous belief in a soul, or in the dependence on a supernatural being for one's salvation, can only stultify one's efforts towards emancipation from misery.

It is the possession of the right belief that differentiates the educated from the uneducated, the thoughtful from the unreflecting. People acquire their beliefs in four different ways. Some merely take refuge in the calm satisfaction of a faith that their view is the right one, and look with pity, contempt, or even horror on all other views. These men of tenacity are like the ostrich that buries its head in the sand as danger approaches and then feels satisfied that there is no danger. More often imposed authority has been the expeditious means of producing a general belief. But this method, though lightly tolerated by the many, is not acceptable to the thoughtful few, who easily penetrate the mist with which dogma envelopes the atmosphere, and, finding the pretentiousness of all infallibility, look elsewhere for obtaining a sounder belief. But, even when freed from the fetters of authority, men frequently fall victims to their hopes and wishes, and accept views which seem plausible, agreeable, or elevating. From this condition of mind no progress can result. Only when one scrutinises his inclinations and wishes, and cares more for the objective worth of his reasoning than for its agreeableness, would it be possible to attain the truth by the method of scientific investigation. "It is the prerogative of the scientific method that it enthrones the logical right—the true—as the moral law enthrones the ethical right—the good. The crowning virtue becomes not conviction, not the approval of authority, nor

acceptability, nor general credence, but provability." Only the man who, after scientific investigation, has set aside vain hopes and wishes, can know that the power with which he combats suffering and sorrow is natural and not supernatural. Only the sceptre of reason and science can safeguard to all the most cherished opportunities for right action, right thought and right peace.

When an earnest intelligent man has gained right views concerning the existence of misery, its cause and its cessation, he can no longer find satisfaction in pleasure-seeking, for to seek pleasure is to multiply pain. He who has begun seeing things as they are will be swayed little by motives of dollars and cents, or of mere personal interest. Nor can he find happiness in repose, when he has perceived that there is the infinite to traverse and the perfect to attain. His aspiration will be to free his mind from contradictions and doubts as to the possibility of reaching the goal; to abandon the idea of separateness, to be paying homage to the Blessed One by investigating his Dharma and truthfully disciplining himself according to its teaching; to deliver himself and all beings who are drowned in the sea of misery by the employment of the innumerable expedients (*upaya*) leading to salvation and bring them to the highest bliss of *nirvana*. With the firm resolution to attain *bodhi* (*bodhi-pranidhi chitta*) he will enter on the prescribed course of self-discipline.

Aspirations and resolutions can be of little use if they are not followed by practices which can secure the end in view. Consequently right aspirations must find objective manifestation in right speech, right action and right living. "To abstain from falsehood, to abstain from backbiting, to abstain from harsh language, and to abstain from frivolous talk is called right speech." The words of one who aspires to the higher life must be kind, open, truthful, unequivocal; encouraging to others and helpful in improving them; free from vanity and bitterness of feeling. He must not "gossip about great people;" he must not speak at all about "meats, drinks, clothes, perfumes, couches, equipages, women, warriors, demigods, fortune telling, hidden treasurers, ghost stories, nor about empty tales concerning things that are and things that are not." Whatever he speaks he must speak kindly and with a pure thought.

Hand in hand with the elimination of selfishness from one's speech must proceed the purification of one's acts from all egotistic

taint. "*Atma bhàván tadà bhogán sarvatriyadvagatam subham nirapeksha styajâm yesha sarvasatvàrtha siddhaye.* I give up all my pleasures and enjoyments for the good and benefit of others." So says the *Bodhicharyàvatára.*[3] The aim of right action is not one's own happiness which may result from it. Right action consists in the avoidance of all that is subversive of the higher life, and in the doing of all that is good and noble. Progress in the higher life cannot be effected by means of rituals, sacrifices, prayers and incantations, and these are therefore forbidden. But real merit (*punyam*) is acquired by the practice of morality (*seela*) and charity (*dána*).

The practice of morality (*seela pàramita*) consists in the observance of all moral precepts; in feeling fear, shame and remorse at the smallest violation of any of them; in not giving room for blame or disgust; in practising those deeds which lead to moderation and contentment, and in endeavouring to induce all human beings to abandon evil and practise virtue. He alone truly practises the *seela-páramita* who desists from evildoing even when the best opportunities present themselves for doing evil. In Buddhism the moral life is of fundamental importance. Of all the *paramitas,* the excellences, the *seela paramita* is the foundation. Some of the other *paramitas* may in some respects be higher than *seela*, but they may be dispensed with, if necessary, for the sake of seela, for the latter, owing to its being the basis of good acts, can on no account be neglected.

Buddhism does not teach that man is by nature evil. "*Atha doshayam agantukuh satva prakriti pesalah.* The evil in men is not inborn; naturally they are good."[4] Hence for its moral precepts the Dharma seeks no external source of authority. The Buddhistic ethics is purely autonomous, and not heteronomous like the Jewish-Christian. Its subjective basis is the perception of the internal equality or oneness of all living beings with one another, and from this originate benevolence (*mudita*), compassion (*karuna*) and friendliness (*maitri*), which must be cultivated and developed so as to be made the motives for all good deeds.

Between the ethical teachings of Buddhism and the moral codes of the Brahmins there is a remarkable difference which might be

3. III, 10.
4. Bodhicharyavatara. VI, 40.

noted here. Their early and later laws inculcate bravery, loyalty, hospitality, and prohibit lying, stealing, and illegal injury to others, and in some cases self-restraint too is enjoined. "But if these laws be compared with those of savage races, it will be found that most of them are also factors of primitive ethics. Therefore we say that the Hindu code as a whole is antique and savage, and that, excluding religious excess and debauchery, it is on a par with the modern ethical code only nominally. In reality, however, this savage and ancient code is not on a level with that of to-day. And the reason is that the ideal of each is different. In the savage and old world conception of morality, it is the ideal virtue that is represented by the code. It was distinct laudation to say of a man that he did not lie, or steal, and that he was hospitable. But to-day, while these factors remain to formulate the code, they no longer represent ideal virtue. Nay rather, they are but the assumed base of virtue, and so thoroughly is this assumed that to say of a gentleman that he does not lie or steal is not praise, but rather an insult, since the imputation to him of what is but the virtue of children, is no longer an encomium when applied to the adult who is supposed to have passed the point where theft and lying are moral temptations, and to have reached a point where, on the basis of these savage, antique, now childish virtues, he strives for a higher moral ideal. And this ideal of to-day, which makes fairmindedness, liberality of thought, and altruism the respective representatives of the savage virtues of manual honesty, truth speaking, and hospitality, is just what is lacking in the more primitive ideal formulated in the code of savages and of the Brahmin alike. It is not found at all among savages, and they may be left on one side. In India all the factors of the modern code are entirely lacking at the time when the old code was first completely formulated. Liberality of thought comes in with the era of the *Upanishads*, but it is restricted freedom. Altruism is unknown to pure Brahminism. But it obtains amongst the Buddhists who also have liberality of thought and fairmindedness. Hence from the point of view of higher morality, one must confess that Buddhism offers the best parallel to the best of to-day. On the other hand Buddhistic altruism exceeds all other."[5]

Nevertheless, some critics would make out that the ethics of Buddhism is egoistic, because its final aim is individual perfection.

5. E. W. Hopkins. Religions of India, pp. 535, 536.

But a slight reflection shows the absurditiy of this charge. What differentiates man from other animals is his possession of certain intellectual and ethical powers. It is only by the harmonious and perfect development of these powers that each one of us can truly realise his humanity and make himself useful to his fellows. Hence following the dictates of reason, the true end of man can be nothing else than the perfection of his powers. If the striving after this perfection be selfish, it is such selfishness as cannot be dispensed with. A sound, good, fruitful self-love is the necessary basis for every virtue and therefore also for a true, sound, good and fruitful love to others. As Maeterlink says, "the egoism of a clear-sighted and strong mind works much more good than the resignation of a blind and weak mind. Before one can live for others, he must live for himself; and before one can give himself away to others, he must have won himself."[6] In endeavouring to attain the perfection of *bodhi*, one perfects himself in order that he might work for the good of others. But he who does good to others for the sake of rewards in heaven or for fear of punishment in hell, does it all for himself and not for others.

While morality is in some respects passive, charity is always active. Charity implies much more than the mere observance of certain rules, such as those of *ahimsa* and *adattadana*. The Dharma inculcates that charity should be practised as follows. When people ask one for something, as far as his means permit, he ought to supply it ungrudgingly and make them rejoice in it. If he finds people threatened with danger, he ought to try every means of rescuing them and impart to them a feeling of fearlessness. As far as he is acquainted with the Dharma, he ought to instruct others in it, for the gift of the Dharma, the truth, exceeds all other gifts. The *bodhisatva* is expected to be not only a donor but also one compassionate and forgiving. In performing acts of charity one's aim ought not to be either fame or any other advantage in this or another world. No doubt he thinks of benefiting others, but his mind is set wholly on the attainment of *nirvana*. Even when there may be no one to benefit by his acts, his disposition should be charitable. According to the teaching of the Blessed One, charity is essentially an attitude of mind. Says the *Bodhicharyavatara*:[7] "The

6. La Sagesse et la destinee.
7. Chapter V. 9, 10.

aim of charity is indeed to rid the world of its poverty, but the world is still so poor even after the appearance of the Buddha. Can we blame him? No. By the *danaparamita* we understand the disposition to live for the good and benefit of all beings. Hence charity is essentially an attitude of mind."

Here is an essential difference between Buddhism and Christianity. The latter is often spoken of as the religion of love, but a close investigation of the nature of love shows that the claim of Christianity to this title, even in its primitive stage, is not borne out by facts. In his *Der Buddhismus als Religion der Zukunft*[8] Theodor Schultze has made a searching examination of this question, which he concludes thus: "If we examine those passages of the New Testament which deal with love, we find none among them in which at least an attempt is made to set forth minutely the nature of love as an internal (subjective) state of mind. They either speak approvingly of love; or give the motive which actuates or should actuate love (such as that God has ordained it, or that God himself is love); or deal with the outward expression of love, its beneficial effects, and the practical relations which are, or should be, determined by it; or simply make mention of the reward of love. What strikes us in all this is that we are involved in a circle, for on one side love is said to spring from obedience to God's commandments and on the other side love itself is said to lead to the obeying of God's laws."

In another respect also the Christian point of view differs from the Buddhist. The Christian's end being the other world, he regards this life as comparatively worthless or immoral. Hence there is for him no limit whatever to the destruction or diminution of his personal existence. But it is different with the Buddhist. He does not regard self-desstruction, whether partial or complete, as right, for he does not consider this existence as worthless. As the *Bodhicharyavatara*[9] says, "the body that can do righteous deeds ought not to be made to suffer for petty things even in the interest of others. How could it then serve to realise the hopes of all beings? Life should not be abandoned in an impure disposition of pity, but when the body can no longer be serviceable to others, it is time to abandon life in a spirit of pure disinterestedness, as then there can be no degradation attaching to it." He who regards this existence as worthless forgoes nothing by sacrificing it.

8. Sweite auflaga, pp. 62, 68.
9. Chapter V. 86, 89.

The logical outcome of right action is right living. Living, as used here, includes the means of livelihood as well as the mode of living, that is, the manner in which one spends his income. No aspirant for the higher life can be without occupation; he must take upon himself some duties that will exercise his abilities, and make himself useful to his fellowmen. But his occupation, should bring no hurt or danger to any living being. Such occupations, as divination by dreams, prognostication of good or evil by omens, indulging in prophecies, discovering magical virtues in gems, boasting of supernatual powers, pretending to perform miracles and wonders, the employment of spells and supplications, which involve lying and deceit, are unworthy of the seeker after the higher life. Similarly he finds his way to all trades blocked with abuses. As a famous writer says, "the ways of trade are grown selfish to the borders of theft and supple to the borders of fraud." "The general system of our trade is a system of selfishness; is not dictated by the high sentiments of human nature; is not measured by the exact law of reciprocity, much less by the sentiments of love and heroism, but is a system of distrust, of concealment, of superior keenness, not of giving but of taking advantage." All the lucrative professions are equally unsuited, for each has its own wrongs. "Each finds a tender and very intelligent conscience a disqualification for success. Each requires of the practitioner a certain shutting of the eyes, a certain dapperness and compliance, an acceptance of customs, a sequestration from the sentiments of generosity and love, a compromise of private opinion and lofty integrity. Nay, the evil custom reaches into the whole institution of property, until our laws which establish it and protect it seem not to be the issue of love and reason, but of selfishness." No wonder that the Blessed One found it necessary to give up all his property and lead the life of a *bhikshu.*

It is a charge frequently brought against the Buddhist *bhikshu* that he is a drone dependent on others for support. But this accusation is not warranted by facts. No doubt there are black sheep in every fold. But as a rule the Buddhist *bhikshu* has rendered invaluable service to his country and his supporters. "In almost every village in the province (of Burma)," says the Census Report of India for 1901, "there is a monastery where one of the duties of the presiding *pongyi*, or Buddhist monk, is the instruction, free of charge, of the children belonging to the village." Writing of

the work done by the Buddhist *bhikshus* in Japan, Nobuta Kishimoto[10] says: "It is often said against Buddhism that monks and priests are idle and unprofitable members of the community like drones living on the industry of others. This, in one sense, is true. But we must remember that if Buddhism introduced into Japan certain numbers of these "drones" of society, it also introduced various arts, such as painting, sculpture and architecture. Most of the famous paintings, sculptures and buildings of the present Japan are religious, but principally Buddhistic. Moreover, the Buddhist monks and priests were not altogether idle and unprofitable. It is true that they were living on the gifts of the believers. But the Christian pastors, too, live on the gifts of the Christians, just as much as the Buddhist clergy do, yet no one calls them idle and unprofitable. Apart from their moral and religious functions, it was mostly the monks who, in their pilprimages in search of quiet spots, built roads and spanned bridges, thus making travelling and communication easy. It was often the monks who encouraged the people in the cultivation of the arts of peace and life. Often they themselves led the people in the transformation of the waste land into rice fields." "All education was for centuries in Buddhist hands, as was the care of the poor and sick; Buddhism introduced art, introduced medicine, moulded the folklore of the country, created the dramatic poetry, deeply influenced politics and every sphere of social and intellectual activity. In a word, Buddhism was the teacher under whose instruction the Japanese nation grew up."[11].

In all countries where Buddhism has flourished the *bhikshus* have been the pioneers of civilization and the repositories of learning In India during the Middle Ages no place was more famous for learning than Nalanda. "What Cluny and Clairvaux were to France in the Middle Ages, Nalanda was to Central India, the depository of all true learning, and the foundation from which it spread over all the other lands of the faithful." All the sciences and arts were studied there, and Nalanda was in fact a seat of universal learning, diffusing and making knowledge. "The monks of Nalanda, to the number of several thousands," says Hiouen Tsiang,[12] "are men of the highest ability. Their conduct is pure and unblamable, although the rules of the monactery are severe. The day is not

10. The Open Court.
11. Basil Hall Chamberlain: Things Japanese.
12. Records of the West: Beal's Translation, Vol. II, p. 70.

sufficient for asking and answering profound questions. From morning till night the monks engage in discussion, the old and the young mutually helping one another. Those who cannot answer questions out of the Tripitaka are little esteemed, and are obliged to hide themselves for shame. Hence learned men from different cities come here in multitudes to settle their doubts and thence the streams of their fame spread far and wide. For this reason some persons usurp the name of Nalanda students, and in going to and fro receive honour and consequence."

He who earns his livelihood by right means must also spend his income in the right way. As the aim of every Buddhist is perfection and not pleasure, no mode of living which is merely intended to increase pleasure without materially promoting health or efficiency, can be rational. On this ground all luxury, the mere increase of an individual's pleasure by superfluous consumption, is condemned. It cannot be doubted that luxury has in the long run a baneful effect on one's health. Who does not know the excesses in sensual indulgence committed by persons of wealth and leisure and the difficulty of avoiding them even by care and self-control? Luxurious habits make men disinclined for labour and incapable of sustained exertion and patient endurance, which are the powers needed for most kinds of strenuous work. Even if the prospect of luxury may act in some cases as an incentive to work, still from an ethical point of view it would seem base that one should not be able to do his duty without bribing himself by a larger share of consumable wealth than falls to the common lot. A man who lives in luxury consumes what, even from a purely utilitarian point of view, could have produced more happiness if it had been left to be consumed by others. No body can eat his cake and also have it. Much less can he have it and arrange that others should eat it too. It is an absurd fallacy to suppose that a man by living luxuriously provides work and therefore bread for the many. A man, properly speaking, benefits others by rendering service to them, and not by requiring them to render services to him. Luxury appears to receive some support from the Spencerian formula of "passage from indefinite homogeneity to definite heterogeneity," but really it finds no basis in the general law of evolution. Rather it has its origin in a conception of life which is opposed to the teachings of science. "When the meaning and aim of life," says Elie

Metchnikoff,[13] "become more precise, it will be found that true welfare does not consist in luxury which is opposed to the improvement of the normal cycle of human life."

Wealth may be supposed to procure ease of body and peace of mind, and give time for ideal ends and exercise for ideal energies. But it actually does so in very rare cases. As Adam Smith[14] has well said, "wealth and greatness are mere trinkets of frivolous utility no more adapted for procuring ease of body or tranquillity of mind than the tweezer-cases of the lover of toys; and, like them too, more troublesome to the person who carries them about with him than all the advantages they can afford him are commodious... In ease of body and peace of mind all the different ranks of life are nearly upon a level, and the beggar who suns himself by the side of the highway, possesses that security which kings are fighting for." Very few desire wealth for great purposes. Most covet large incomes for fine garments, handsome apartments, the theatre, public houses, horses and coaches. The desire of gaining wealth and the fear of losing it generally breed cowardice and propagate corruption. In many circumstances the man in pursuit of wealth is a slave, whilst a man for whom poverty has no terrors is free. Personal indifference to poverty gives the seeker after truth strength to devote himself to a noble but unpopular cause, and thus bear witness to the higher life. Small wonder, therefore, that in the days when his reputation stood at its highest point and his name was the foremost throughout India the Blessed One, before whom kings bowed themselves, walked about, alms-bowl in hand, through streets and alleys, from door to door, receiving morsels of food thrown into his bowl! Such an example of humility, self-effacement and devotion to truth cannot but serve to elevate mankind to higher aims and ideals.

Right living, as understood in Buddhism, is much more than plain living and high thinking. The goal of the noble path being the attainment of *bodhi*, it involves unusual sacrifices. One such sacrifice is the celibacy characteristic of the Bhikshu. For an achievement so rare and grand as the attainment of *nirvana* celibacy does not seem too great a sacrifice, although it may not be impossible even in married life to accomplish something in the

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13. Etudes Surla Nature Humaine, p. 385.
14. Theory of Morals.

direction of the perfect life. But evolution would seem to indicate a necessary connection between celibacy and the higher life. Evolution points to a natural antagonism between individual perfection and race multiplication. While in the lower stages of animal life the race is everything and the individual nothing, in the higher types the reproductive function becomes subordinated, and the individual rises in importance. In the bacillus or the fish we see a prodigal fecundity, but the major portion of mankind has arrived at the stage of 'one at a birth.' The highest stage would, therefore, be that in which the individual is all to himself, no longer concerned with the propagation of the race. Enhanced individuation manifesting itself in the highest altruism seems to be impossible except at the cost of fitness for the multiplication of the species. Hence it appears not unnatural to suppose that the perfection of individuality represented by the attainment of *bodhi* implies a necessary ending of the race.

The goal of the path of purity being nothing less than the destruction of all sorrows (*klesa*) and the removal of all perturbing causes (*ávarana*), a mere change in external life and conduct cannot be productive of much benefit unless coupled with a thorough cleansing of the mind. This subjective purification is to be effected by right effort, right thought, and right tranquillity of mind. Right effort consists in heroically mastering the passions so as to prevent bad qualities from arising, in suppressing sinful thoughts so as to put away bad qualities that have arisen, in producing goodness not previously existing, and in increasing the goodness which already exists by fixed attention and application. The chief aim of this effort is to cultivate a highly developed will as such, namely, the capacity of control. "Mature will," says Prof. Sully, "implies the inhibition of certain nerve centres by others......a repression of action when conflicting motives arise......the maintaining of a definitive purpose beyond the movement and the persistent concentration of mind on this." Thus the Blessed One recommends the novice who is obsessed by some haunting idea of an undesirable character to try five methods in succession for expelling it: (1) Attend to some good idea; (2) face the danger of the consequences of letting the bad idea develop into action; (3) become inattentive to the bad idea; (4) analyse its antecedents, and so paralyse the sequent impulse; (5) coerce the mind with the aid of bodily

tension.[15] It is only by the putting forth of effort and by persistence (*viryapáramita*) that one can acquire self-control (*kshanti*). Without self-control and forbearance it is impossible to cleanse one's mind and develop holiness. Moral advice may be very helpful, moral convictions may direct one's will, but the vigour and persistency with which one's will acts depends more on habit. It is therefore absolutely necessary to train the will, not by directing it by mere advice or reasonable suggestion, but by suitably changing one's environment and regulating his motives.

The Dharma does not treat the will as an entity or faculty which is determined by nothing but itself. As the *Bodhicharyavatàra* says: "*Sarvam tatpratyaya balát svatantrantu na vidyate.* Nothing comes into existence of itself." Volition is a state of consciousness resulting from the more or less complex co-ordination of a number of states, psychical and physiological, which all united express themselves by an action or an inhibition. The chief factor in the coordination is the character, an extremely complex product formed by heredity, prenatal and postnatal physiological conditions, education and experience. Only a part of this psychological activity enters into consciousness in the form of a deliberation. The acts and movements which follow the deliberation result directly from the tendencies and feelings, images and ideas, which have become co-ordinated in the form of a choice. Choice is, therefore, not the cause of anything, but it is itself an effect. To suppose that choice is without cause would be to admit that the inconsistent unaccountable actions of the insane form the normal type and standard of comparison. Besides, if choice were uncaused, every choice ought to lead to happiness. No one would of himself choose something miserable. As the *Bodhicharyàvatàra*[16] says: "*Yaditu swechayá siddhih sarvesham eva dehinam; na bhavet kasya chit dukkham na dukkham kaschid icchati.* If everything could be as one desired, there should be no misery at all in the world." Free will has, therefore, no existence except in the imagination of the theologian and the metaphysician. If the will were free, it would not be possible to change one's character by education. But experience teaches that a man's character is composed of various qualities and is changeable by certain lines of effort. Just because one's will obeys motives and

15. See Mr. Rhys Davids's *The Will in Buddhism.*
16. Chapte xVI, 34.

is dependent on causes, he can be made to transform himself by changing the environment of his action and by thoughtfully arranging the motives of his will.

A will trained in the right direction implies a necessary preparation of the heart by efforts of right desire (*bhàvana*). A wish, which is attainable, is an act of will begun, and when it is strengthened it makes the act of will complete. By the *asubhabhàvana* one creates in himself a disgust for all that is corrupt by reflecting on its evil consequences. This gives the necessary strength and courage to practise the other *bhàvanas*. In the *maitribhavana* one so adjusts his heart that he longs for the weal and welfare of all beings including the happiness even of his enemies. *Maitri*, as Emil Burnouf says, is nothing less than universal love. In the *karuna bhavana* one thinks of all beings in distress, vividly representing in his imagination their sorrows and anxieties so as to arouse for them a deep compassion in his heart. In the *mudita bhavana* one desires the prosperity of others and rejoices in their welfare and joy. Even under the most trying circumstances, even when the greatest mishaps may occur, one ought never to give up *mudita*, for it is the one great source of perennial consolation.[17] In the *upeksha bhavana*, one, freed from pride and selfishness, rises above all ideas of power and oppression, wealth and want, fame and contempt, youth and age, beauty and ugliness, disease and health, and views with disinterested calmness and equanimity whatever may happen to him. Higher than all these is the endeavour to get rid of all idea of separateness and difference and to fill one's mind with thoughts of compassion, friendliness and benevolence to all beings in all quarters of the world. By such efforts the mind is controlled and guided in the right direction. If the mind be not properly controlled, all methods would prove fruitless. *Chattadhinodharmo dharmadhino bhodhih.* It is only by right effort one can acquire the capacity of determining himself in accordance with the laws of the good instead of being the mere victim of external circumstances. Thus alone will he be able to annihilate all his evil predispositions and perturbations, and develop his righteous impulses, and attain the sublime freedom characteristic of *bodhi*. In this atmosphere of true freedom he will work for the benefit of all beings with indefatigable zeal without the least thought of indolence, for, as the *Dharmasamgiti* says, the *bodhisatva* has no other concern than securing the happiness of all beings.

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17. Bodhicharyavatara: Chap. VI, 9.

The remaining two essentials of the noble path are more or less related to each other. Right thought (*smriti*) consists in knowing what ought to be done and what ought to be avoided, and being mindful as to what body and mind are doing. The man devoid of *smriti* is, like a man suffering from disease, incapable of doing work. The possession of right *smriti* can be possible only by the practice of intellectual insight (*pragna paramita*). By intellectual insight is meant an adequate understanding of the law of causality and transformation (*pratitya samutpada*), of the real nature of body (*kaya*) and mind (*chitta*), of pleasure and pain (*vedana*), and of the true relations (*yathabhutam*) of all things in the universe (*dharmas*). Intellectual insight will lead the *bodhisatva* to the positive knowledge that all things come into existence by a combination of different circumstances (*hetupratyaya*), that they are subject to constant transformation (*anitya*), that there is neither a personal *atman* (ego soul) nor atman in things (*ding an sich* or *brahman* or *unknowable*), and that through ignorance (*avidya*) of the true nature of things all beings are experiencing great mental and physical sufferings in numberless ways. This knowledge will awaken the deepest compassion for all suffering beings, and impel the *bodhisatva* to work with dauntless energy for their salvation.

The mere practice of *pragna* may induce a fluctuating mood of mind and not lead to tranquillity. Consequently side by side with *pragna*, the aspirant must also practise *dhyàna* to attain the right tranquillity, which will bring to a standstill all mental states that produce frivolous sophistries. *Dhyâna*, as understood in Buddhism, is the contemplation of the facts of life from the highest point of view, and as such plays a very important role. According to the teachings of Buddhism salvation cannot be attained by prayer, which is a means to effect a private end. The law of *Karma*, being all absolute, cannot be influenced by the supplication of sinners. The consequences of any fault can only be removed by due repentance and reparation inspired, not by the selfish fear of punishment, but by the love of good and truth. But contemplation, under the necessary moral conditions, coupled with sufficient knowledge for directing it to profit, will enable one to know himself better, to examine his conscience more minutely and to illuminate his mind. *Dhyána* is, therefore, not losing consciousness, but a self-possessed purposive eradication of egotism to become capable of investigating all things dispassionately.

Dhyàna comprises four stages: a state of gladness and joy born of seclusion accompanied by investigation and reflection; a state of elation and internal calm without reasoning, consequent on investigation and reflection; the total absence of all passion and prejudice; and lastly, a state of self-possession and complete tranquillity (*samadhi*). The aim of *dhyana* is wholly intellectual, and has nothing in common with ecstacy or trance, which we find so largely associated with religious mysticism. The Buddhist *dhyana*, also called *anuttarayoga*, should not be confounded with the Brahminical *Yoga*. The latter is predominantly physical and hypnotic; the former, though it may have its physical side, is predominantly intellectual and ethical. The Yogin *par excellence* in Buddhism is the generous *bodhisatva* who practises the six *paramitas*. While the Brahmin Yogi endeavours to become absorbed in the universal Brahman, the *bodhisatva* attempts to realise by contemplation the self-devoid nature of all things (*sarvadharma anupalambha cunyata*). "*Cunyata kaunayor abhinnam bodhichittam.* The thought of *bodhi* is inseparable from the idea of nonentity and from universal compassion." In his *Mahayana Sraddhotpada Sutra*[18] Asvagosha specially warns the aspirant for *bodhi* against confounding the *samadhi* of the Buddhists with that of the *tirthakas*, the heretical Brahmins. The practice of *dhyana* uncoupled with *pragna* cannot be productive of any good, but when the two go hand in hand, the mind is freed not only from disquietude by the removal of all inconsistencies, but also from *atmamoha*, the lust for self which is the mother of all egoism. The destruction of egoism enables the *bodhisatva* to get rid of all sorrows (*klesa*) and all obstacles to progress, to feel compassion for all beings, to rejoice in doing good acts, and thus attain to the state of perfect bliss.

In the way of those who are travelling on the noble path lie the ten impediments (*samyojana*) which must be overcome. The foremost among these is the delusion of a permanent self (*satkayadrishti*). To one who considers himself a permanent immutable being and does not realise that he is only an aggregation of *skandhas*, whose present condition has been determined by causes working in

18. Suzuki's translation, pp. 137, 138. "It should be known that all *samadhis* practised by heretics (*i. e. thirthaka*) are invariably the production of the egoistic conception and desire and self assumption, that they are hankering after worldly renown, advantages and reverence. The *samadhi* of suchness (*tathata, sunyata*) has (on the other hand) nothing to do with subjectivity and attachment."

the past, and whose future will be determined by causes at work in the present, any progress in the direction of emancipation and enlightenment is impossible. But when once a man has realised that there is no permanent ego *(atman)* which can gain an eternal paradise beyond the grave, the temptation is not far to run to the sensualist's *(charvaka)* extreme of "let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." Hence it is necessary to have faith in the possibility of attaining perfection. Scepticism *(vichikitsa)* is therefore the next obstacle in the path of the neophyte. With its shibboleths of "ignorabimus" and "unknowable" agnosticism denies all possibility of solving the problem of existence and thus becomes a mental and moral malady which can only stultify all endeavour towards progress. The third obstacle is the belief in the efficacy of purificatory ceremonies and rites (*seelavrdta paramarsha*). Rites and outward observances are mere sham supports, and can afford no aid in emanicipation from misery, even when there is the right spirit within. People who are punctilious in the observance of rites and ceremonies are not free from the *klesas* of lust, hatred and ignorance. If bathing in the Ganges could confer merit, then, as Patriarch Deva said, the fishermen should be the most meritorious, not to speak of the fishes and other animals which are day and night swimming in its waters. The conquest of these three obstacles forms the first stage (*Srotapanna*) of the noble path, whose fruit, as the *Dharmapada* describes, is "better than universal empire in this world, better than going to heaven, better than lordship over all worlds."

One's success in the first stage is no guarantee that he would not lapse back into his old ways. The man who has overcome the delusion of self, doubt and ritualism has to a large extent rectified himself, he has become *sakridagamin*, but not till he has broken the next two fetters of sensuality (*kama*) and malevolence (*pratigha*) are his chances of falling back reduced to a minimum. When all sensuality and malevolence are destroyed, there can no longer arise in his heart the least love of self or ill feeling towards others, and then he becomes *anagamin*. But he is not yet free from all error. He has still to overcome the remaining four impediments. He has to destroy all craving (*raga*) for material (*rupa*) and non-material (*arupa*) pleasures, pride (*mana*), self-righteousness (*ouddatya*), and ignorance of the true nature of things (*avidya*). When he has burst these fetters, he sees all things in their true relations.

Having no evil desires in his mind, he experiences right desires for himself, and feels tender and exalted disinterested love for all beings. He has traversed the path and reaches the goal. He has become perfect (*arhat*).

It is an accusation often made against Buddhism that by placing the goal of life in the attainment of perfection through enlightenment it tends to make the cultivation of intellectual powers of greater importance than the acquirement of ethical virtues. To one who has carefully considered the various qualifications needed for the pilgrimage on the path of purity nothing can appear more baseless and absurd than this charge. Obedience to the laws of morality is one of the prime conditions which must be fulfilled before the mind can become the fit receptacle of truth. The *Bodhicharyavatara*[19] says: "The *paramitas, dana, seela, kshanti, virya, pragna, dhyana,* are in the ascending order of importance, so that one may sometimes neglect the lower *paramitas* for the higher ones; but for the sake of *seela* one may forego even the higher *paramitas*, as *seela* forms the bridge for all good acts." In ultimate analysis the *bodhichitta* resolves itself into two essential virtues, identical in aim, and whose acquisition forms the double duty of the *bodhisatva*. These virtues are *pragnaparamita* (wisdom or intellectual insight) and *seela paramita* (morality). They correspond to the double task of acquiring knowledge and merit, and all the other *paramitas* proceed from these two as their sources. At the commencement the one is complementary to the other, but in the last stage the two become identical. Till their unification morality is a means to attain enlightenment, but morality alone does not constitute enlightenment. To lead the higher life intellectual illumination is absolutely necessary, but it cannot be obtained except by a previous discipline in charity, morality and forbearance. The acquisition of wisdom (*jnanasambhara*) necessarily presupposes the presence of compassion, devotion and morality (*punyasambhara*). The Blessed one has said:

"Virtue is the base on which the man who is wise,
Can train his heart and make his wisdom grow.
Thus shall the strenuous *Bhikshu* undeceived
Unravel the tangled skein of life.
"This is the base like great earth to man
And this is the root of all increase in goodness,
The starting point of all the Buddha's teaching
Virtue, to wit, on which true bliss depends."

P. LAKSHMI NARASU.

(To be continued.)

19. Chapter V, 83.

THE LAND OF SRI SANKARACHARYA.

IN the Life of Madhvacharya called *Madhvavijaya* composed by one Narayana Panditacharya, the birthplace of Sankaracharya is stated to be Anghritala. This is a Sanskrit rendering of the Malayalam word Kaladi (the sole of the foot). The Sanskrit *anghri* corresponds to *kal*, and *tala* to *adi*. Among Sanskrit writers it is a very common practice to translate the vernacular proper names of places. Cannanore is Netrapura; Tellicherry is Siras-sreni; Calicut is Kukkutakroda; Palghat is Kshiravanam; Kranganur is Kotilingesvarapuram; Cochin is Gosripuram and so on. Now Narayanacharya was the son of Trivikramacharya who was a contemporary and disciple of Madhvacharya. In the fifteenth canto of the *Mdahvavijaya*, Narayanacharya gives an account of the controversy between Madhvacharya and Trivikramacharya about the tenets of the Dvaita philosophy. Trivikrama was a staunch follower of Sankara's Advaitaism but was finally converted to Madhva's Dvaitaism. Tradition says that after accepting the new philosophy, Trivikrama began to preach the doctrines of Madhvacharya and came as far as Nilesvar. The Namburis of the place growing envious of the eloquence of Trivikrama and being vanquished in the bloodless war of polemics had recourse to witchcraft and sorcery and rendered the apostle of Dvaitaism incapable of preaching. To get rid of the influence of the devils, Trivikrama composed his famous *Nrisimhastuti*, and after recovering his health returned to Udipi. So the tradition gives Nilesvar as the southernmost point of Madhva proselytism. At present, a small temple in the village of Kavugoli, three miles to the north of Kasaragod, is the only relic of the Dvaita propaganda.

According to Madhva tradition, Madhvacharya was born in 1020 of the Salivahana era or 1098 A. D., and if we accept 800 A. D. as the date of Sankara, the two reformers would be distanced by about three hundred years. For reasons to be explained further on, Sankara was well known in Canara and had a large following in those days. So the Malabar tradition that Sankara was a native of Kaladi and a Namburi Brahman of Kerala is more trustworthy than the baseless belief that consigns Sankara to Chidambaram.

Decadence of Sankara's Religion in Canara.

Sankara's system of Vedanta being too speculative and difficult to be grasped and comprehended without the requisite preliminary training and discipline could not gratify hungry human souls in the

infancy of their evolution. It is meant for men disgusted with the toil and moil of this transitory world, and trying to seek solace in meditation, reflexion and contemplation of the self. Sankara has pointed out the distinction between the knowledge of Vedanta and the practice of the Vedantic knowledge. According to him, the knowledge of the Vedanta, as a rule of conduct, is enjoined upon the Sanyasin—the man who has completely renounced the world. In his commentary on the Bhagavat-gita[1] and the Brahma Sutras[2] he has repeatedly insisted upon this important distinction. But if the conclusions of this profound philosophy that denies the almighty distinction between "I" and "Thou," a distinction based on our actual experience of the world and an essential condition of our being in the world, were to be accepted by every man in the street as principles of conduct in the work'a-day world, and without any regard to morality and religion were to be carried out to their full logical consequences, the result would be the subversion of morality, society, and religion. If the world is an illusion, if the bondage is unreal, if I am God, then it follows that I am independent, free, and being the Almighty, I am at liberty to do whatever I like. But the fact that I am not God until I have become God by realisation of the Divine in the soul, and completely annihilated the palpable distinction between I and thou and I have become "the All" and "the All" has become the "I," is completely lost sight of and the philosophic maxim is objected to from a worldly standpoint. This truth is not for the active man but for the retired recluse. The aim of the active man is to do his duty disinterestedly and qualify himself to enter upon the path of knowledge. Having intuitively felt the unreality of the world as a fact beyond all possibility of doubt and having from this realisation acquired dispassion, a man must at once renounce the world and practise the principles of the Vedanta. The prime requisite many ignored, and instead of leading a moral life, were given to the grossest indulgence. Even now in Malabar may be found many vagabonds who call themselves Vedantins and who, under the maxim that all sins are burned in the fire of spiritual knowledge, do not hesitate to indulge their senses and appetites.

The effect of the mere intellectual study of the Vedanta without righteousness may be estimated from what Mr. Froude says about

1. Chapter II, 20 ff.
2. Chapter III.

the influence of the Greek philosophy on the Romans. "Morality thus ingrained in the national character and grooved into habits of action, creates strength as nothing else creates it. The difficulty of conduct does not lie in knowing what it is right to do, but in doing it when it is known. Intellectual culture does not touch the conscience. It provides no motives to overcome the weakness of the will, and with wider knowledge it brings also new temptations. The sense of duty, on the other hand, is present in each detail of life; and the obligatory 'must' which binds the will to the course which right principle has marked out for it, produces a fibre like the fibre of the oak.

* * * *

But the morality of habit, though the most important element in human conduct, is still but a part of it. Moral habits grow under given conditions. They correspond to a given degree of temptation. When men are removed into situations where the use and wont of their fathers no longer meets their necessities; where new opportunities are offered to them; where their opinions are broken in upon by new ideas; where pleasures tempt them on every side, and they have but to stretch out their hand to take them; moral habits yield under the strain, and they have no other resource to fall back upon."

Such or nearly such appears to have been the condition of the men in Canara. Men who had the advantages of studying the Vedanta became self-centred and self-seeking. From denying the attributes of God they began to deny God. There cannot be a God transcending them. The pride of birth, caste restrictions and social restraints seem all to have lost force. Immorality and corruption pervaded the whole community. With a few bright exceptions they earnestly prayed for the end of this deplorable state of social disorganisation.

Sankara's philosophy fell into disrepute, and its followers were called Prachchhanna-baudhas or Crypto-buddhists, Maya-vadins or illusionists. Sankara himself came to be looked down upon as the demon Maniman who had been killed by Bhima on the Himalayas.

At this critical time there was born at Udipi another great religious reformer named Sri Madhvacharya. By his followers he is believed to be an Avatar of Vayu; he was sent down by Vishnu to restore the old Vedic religion to its original purity. He belonged

to a poor but very respectable family of Sivalli Brahmans, or the Brahmans of Canara who speak Tulu Language. Madhvacharya's chief merit lies in his strenuous efforts at reviving Vaishnavism, in accounting for and explaining away the contradictions and conflictions of the Puranas, the Epics and the Tantras, and in building up the admirable system of the Dvaita philosophy in opposition to the generally accepted Advaitaism of Sankara. In his opinion Veda Vyasa, the author of the Mahabharata and the Puranas, is identically the same personage as Badarayana, the author of the Brahma Sutras. Since Vyasa's object is to relieve suffering humanity from the horrors of endless of transmigrations and throes of hell, his teachings must be the same both in the Mahabharata and the Puranas. As Vyasa himself has declared in his Bhagavata Purana that under the guise of the Mahabharata he has expounded the Vedas, and as he has in the Brahma Sutras brought into harmony all the teachings of the Upanishads, and as he has composed the Puranas for the liberation of women, Sudras, and nominal Brahmans (Brahma-baudhus), the object of his teachings must be the same in all his works. So the conflictions that may be found in Vyasa's works are intended for the destruction of wicked men of the *Tamasic* nature. Madhvacharya's grand object is to prove that Vishnu is the highest deity, and that all other gods and goddesses arrange themselves in descending grades of superiority. Salvation is effected through the grace of Vishnu and *Bhakti* or disinterested love of Vishnu as a duty without any expectation of reward in return, is the means of securing God's grace. Spiritual knowledge is conducive to *Bhakti*. By establishing differences between Vishnu and *Jivas* (or human souls), among souls themselves, between souls and matter, between Vishnu and matter, and in matter itself, Madhvacharya has attempted to demolish the system of Sankara. All knowables and nameables are classified under two headings—Independent (*svatantra*) and Dependent (*asvatantra*) entites. Vishnu alone is independent. Both matter and souls are dependent on Him. Souls are eternal, uncreated and indestructible. They pass and re-pass through births and deaths, in consequence of their *Karma*. *Karma* is eternal but ceases to affect the soul that through the grace of God has acquired *bhakti* and *jnana*. When the *Jiva* or human soul is thus freed from the bonds of *Karma* and has regained its original status, it is said to be liberated, or to have attained *Moksha*; it is no more liable to the rounds of transmigrations. To establish the

truth of these hypotheses, Madhva undertakes to disprove Sankara's doctrine of Maya, his theory of the unreality of the world, his view of the limiting conditions (*Upadhis*) of the soul in consequence of which it is disqualified from recognising its own identity with Brahman. Madhva denies this identity, supposes the gulf between God and man to be infinite, and makes liberation a matter of grace. Only one *Jiva* in the form of the Creator Brahma is set free at the universal dissolutions. All human actions are prompted by Isvara; it is doubtful whether Madhva grants free-will to man.

On the above principles Madhvacharya explains the three *Prasthanas* and quotes from the various Puranas passages in support of his interpretation of the *Prasthanas*. When his theory is in conflict with the passages he is commenting upon, like Sankara, he too, readily puts a forced interpretation on them. Those Advaita passages which unmistakably point to the identity of the human soul with the Supreme Soul are interpreted as referring to the *Antaryamin*—the Divine in the human soul.

The discussion of the relative merits of the two schools of the Vedanta which accept the three *Prasthanas* as revealed works and yet arrive at conclusions diametrically opposed to each other, being foreign to the subject in hand, I do not enter into here. I readily confess my inability to judge between these two mighty philosophers.

My humble object is to point out that these two philosophers, each great in his own sphere, belong to ancient Kerala, and to show that, on this account at least, this ancient province which in consequence of the diversity of manners and customs of Namburis occupies a unique position, deserves our careful attention. The land which produced a Sankara and a Madhva—the two poles of speculative philosophy—deserves a history. It is a matter for gratification that many scholars of Malabar have begun to evince much interest in this neglected branch of study and that much valuable information has been furnished to outsiders to enable them to form independent judgment on the peculiarities of the customs and manners of Namburis. Mine is also an humble contribution to the same subject, but it does not pretend to perfection and authority. It is one view of the question, and instead of disarming criticism gladly invites it so that a reasonable discussion may lead us to a rational conclusion.

METHOD OF PROCEDURE ADOPTED.

(1) Regarding the first occupation of Kerala by Aryans from Northern India, we have no authentic or contemporary history. About their first migrations to the South, traditions are preserved in the epics, Puranas, and local legends. These traditions, though useless for chronological purposes, are founded upon some historical facts, and though in the process of transmission from generation to generation they have undergone modifications, the original kernel of truth may be discerned through them. Availing myself of these traditions and the manifold advantages offered by the new science of Comparative Philology, I shall in this paper attempt to fix the probable date of the colonisation of Kerala by the Aryans.

(2) Compared with the Brahmans of the other parts of India, the Namburis will be found to differ from them in rituals, manners and customs. If rituals, manners, customs &c., similar to those obtaining among Namburis, be found in our ancient literature, we can easily infer that these peculiarities which are now found *only* among Namburis must be survivals of the past, that the Namburis brought these with them from Northern India and that being shut up in Kerala for centuries without any foreign enemies to disturb the calm rusticity of their villages, they with their instinctive conservatism clung to their ancient, pristine customs and manners; while owing to the inevitable social and political changes and the resultant eastward and southward migrations, the other Brahman communities adapting themselves to the altered conditions made their necessary innovations in their social autonomy and polity. After their settlement in Kerala, the Namburis vegetated in the obscurity of their villages and were quite forgotten by other Brahmans. This isolation of the Namburis accounts for the very scanty references to the Kerala Brahmans and their peculiarities in Sanskrit works.

THE NAME KERALA.

According to the *Keralolpatti*, the traditionary history of Malabar, compiled by Tunjattu Ramanujan (1589—1640 A. D.), the name Kerala was originally applied to the narrow strip of territory reclaimed by Parasurama from the ocean, and lying at the foot of the Western Ghauts, and extending from the holy shrine of Gokarna in the north to Kannyakumari in the south. The *Sahyadrikanda* of the *Skanda-purana*—the Brahmanic history of the west coast—

says that Kerala is one of the seven Konkanas which comprised the Parasurama-kshetra recovered from the Western Ocean and extending from Nasik to Cape Comorin. Authentic history that is not disposed to believe in the superhuman powers of a Brahman hero who in its estimation is but a mythological personage created by the fancy of a poet driven to his wit's end to account for the origin of Kerala, may, nevertheless, recognise in this tradition the fact that Parasurama was the first to discover the sea-board of the west coast as a suitable locality for the occupation of the Brahmans and to colonise it with bands of Aryans from Northern India. The traditional belief of Chitpavans, Desasthas, Konkanas, Karhadas, Padyas, Namburis and other Brahmans now occupying the west coast is that their ancestors were led to the shores of the Western sea by Parasurama who parcelled out the land among them and settled them in villages. The village system in Kerala is altogether different from the village communities of other parts of India.

The seven Konkanas above referred to are Kerala, Tulunga (evidently a variant for Tuluva or Taulava), Saurashtra, Konkana, Karahata, Karnata and Barbara.[1] Dr. Gundert in his Malayalam dictionary quotes a verse naming the seven Konkanas. Though the names in the two lists differ, both agree in including Kerala among the seven Konkanas. From Gokarna, the original northernmost limit of ancient Kerala, to the Brahmavar river in the Kundapur taluk of South Canara, the territory was called Haiga or Karnata inasmuch as the prevailing language was Kanarese. It was known as Haiga, because it was occupied by the Haiga or Harika Brahmans. It is difficult to decide whether the country gave the name to the Brahmans or the Brahmans to the country. The country to the south of Karnata up to the Chandragiri river in the Kasaragod taluk of the district of South Canara was known as Taulava, since Tulu was the predominant language. At present Tulu is not spoken in the Kundapur taluk; but in the south it is spoken as far as Nilesvar. Canarese has outgrown its ancient limits and prevails up to the borders of Malabar. This is chiefly due to its being recognised as the court language, by the English, Haider Ali and the kings of Vijayanagar.

Karmataka, Taulava and Kerala constituted the ancient Kerala which extended from Gokarna to Cape Comorin; for the sixty-four villages which Parasurama is said to have conferred on Namburis

1. See chapter VI of the Uttarakanda of Sahadri.

are situated in this tract. Gokarna may be fixed as the northernmost point from which these three Dravidian languages—Canarese, Tulu, and Malayalam diverged. It will be hereafter shown that there are greater degrees of affinity, kinship and physiognomy between the Dravidian Brahmans of Canara and Namburis.

At a subsequent period, owing to some unknown causes, most probably to the revival of Vaishnavism under Madhvacharya and to the spread of Siva *Siddhanta* philosophy in Malabar, the Chandragiri river, called the Perunpuzha in the *Keralolpatti* became the boundary between the Taulava and the modern Kerala. As Namburi ladies cannot step out of Kerala on account of social and religious prohibition, one crossing the Perumpuzha will be excommunicated even in the twentieth century. Though some maintain that the Perumpuzha is the Payyannur river, there is no prohibition for Namburi women to cross the Payyannur river, but they are not allowed to cross the Chandragiri river. This social prohibition shows that it must have originated from social scandal or some religious controversy. Ethnographically, too, Kerala, or the country where Malayalam is spoken as an indigenous language, begins from the south of the Chandragiri.

Though the subject in hand is more concerned with Kerala in its limited acceptation of the country to the south of the Chandragiri river, its ancient signification is necessary for the elucidation of the arguments.

REFERENCES TO KERALA IN ANCIENT WORKS.

The name Kerala occurs in one of Asoka's edicts and must have been well known in Northern India before the third century B. C. It was known to Plolemy and Pliny who mention it as Kerobothras and Celobotras respectively. These classical names correspond to the Keralaputras in the inscriptions of Asoka. Since this name, Kerala, is found in the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, in several of the *puranas*, such as the *Vayu*, *Matsya*, *Markandeya*, *Skanda*, *Padma*, and so on and in the works of Kalidasa, Rajasekhara, and other Sanskrit poets, it is certain that the word is of Sanskrit origin. Patanjali, the author of the *Mahabhashya*, and the highest authority on Sanskrit Grammar, looks upon it as a Sanskrit derivative.[2]

2. IV. 1, Anhika 4.

Etymology of Kerala.

The usually accepted derivation of the word Kerala is that it is formed of *Kera*, a contracted form of *Nalikera*—the cocoanut palm and the suffix *la*. So the term means the land yielding or abounding in cocoanut trees. But Dr. Caldwell is not satisfied with this derivation and remarks:—"One meaning of this word in Malayalam is 'a cocoanut palm'. This would furnish us with a very natural origin for the name of the country; but unfortunately it seems to be a secondary meaning, the name of the country itself being probably the origin of this name of its most characteristic tree."[3] The learned doctor admits that the word is of Sanskrit origin, and yet his predeliction for the Dravidian origin of the name compels him to question the derivation. The name of the country is, according to him, Kera or Chera, and from this a derivative was formed in Sanskrit by adding a suffix. But he does not help us to find out the meaning of *Kera* or *Chera*. *Kera* is used in Malayalam poetry in the sense of a cocoanut tree. (കേരവും ക്രമുകവും.) Though the cocoanut and areca palm are now indigenous to Malabar, the names *Kera* and *Kramuka* are not of Malayalam origin.

It has been shewn above that the term Kerala is of Sanskrit origin. The name must have been given to the land by a Sanskrit speaking people, who must have had some reason in naming the country by that term. If the name was first applied to the land and then transferred to the tree, we have to ascertain the derivation of *Nalikera*. This word exists also in the form *Narikera*, *Nadikera*. The lexicon *sabdaratnâvali* derives *Narikela* from *Nari*—a woman, and *kela*, graceful motion or playful deportment. The term accordingly means the tree that in pride of bunches of spathes and fruits moves as gracefully as a lovely woman proud of her youth. According to Dr. H. H. Wilson, the word means a tree growing in a watery place (*narika* + *ir*). The name *nâlikera* occurs in the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. The occurrence of this word in the epics shows that the fruit was known in ancient India, and its name is not derived from a Dravidian source. Kalidasa describes the soldiers of Raghu as drinking 'the palmy wine'—*kâlikerasavam*—even on the Mahendra mountains. It is hardly necessary to refer to poets subsequent to Kalidasa. Hence it follows that a Sanskrit speaking people called the country Kerala and 'its characteristic tree' by the name of *Nâlikera* before the third century B. C.

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3. Comparative Grammar, p. 23.

In his *Malabar Manual*, Mr. Logan says that Kerala is the Canarese form of Chera, and thinks that in consequence of the domination of the Chera dynasty in the country for a long time, the country was called Kerala. Dr. Gundert in his dictionary says that Keram is the Canarese pronunciation of Cheram. This explains nothing and creates difficulties which escaped the attention of these two scholars. From the above statements it follows that Cheram is the more ancient term; that it was changed by the Kanarese people first into Keram and then into Keralam, and that after this transformation the term was given back to the Malayalis who, though they did not want it, greedily seized on the new gift and made it their own. But the word Chera is not found in Sanskrit words except in the legendary histories of particular localities.

Let us turn our attention to the phonetics of the two languages. Generally speaking, the initial gutturals and palatals in Canarese and Malayalam do not undergo any organic change, *e. g.*, kai (hand), kannu (eye), kâlu (leg), kâdu (forest), kakku (to vomit), kedu (to spoil), kollu (to kill), koyyu (to reap), kûgu (to cry), kodu (to give), and so on have the same sense in both the languages. Sometimes the initial gutturals of Canarese words correspond to the initial palatals of Malayalam words.

English	ear	red	do	snake	tank	white ant	cocoanut-shell
Canarese	kivi	kem	gey	kêre	kere	gedalu	geratte.
Malayalam	chevi	chem	chey	chêra	chira	chidalu	chiratta.

This change may be due to the palatal vowels *i. e.* and *ê*, and is a purely dialectic one. According to philology gutturals are more primitive and pass into palatals. Kanarese people have no dislike to both kinds of sounds, nor have the Malayalis any special liking for palatals. Hence the word Kerala which is mentioned in the epics and in some of the Puranas, is, on philological grounds, more ancient than Chera which is not mentioned in the epics or the Puranas and therefore cannot be derived from Chera. Why the Malayalis, having originally designated their country as Chera, should give up that name in preference to the Canarese form of Kerala and yet retain *chevi, chevidan, chem, chey*, has not been answered. The derivation of Kerala from Dravidian sources, meaning a salt marsh, requires confirmation from geology. Will a salt marsh be a proper habitation for Aryans of Northern

India? The presence of serpents in the country, as traditionally believed and as confirmed by the social institutions of Malabar goes to prove that the country was a woodland. The ancient name of Malabar is Mala-nâdu—"hilly country." If Malabar is formed by an upheavel, can there be so many salt marshes on the top of these raised-up lands as to give the country the name of Marsh-land.' It is true that the backwaters along the coast bring in a large volume of salt water and cover the adjoining fields. But as the bulk of the people—both Brahmans and Sudras—lived in the interior and the coast became important only with the rise of foreign commerce in which the Malabar aristocracy did not take part, the backwaters cannot be pressed into service to account for the name Kerala.

CHERA.

I will now try to account for the origin of the term *Chera*. I believe it to be the *Tadbhava* or dialectically modified form of the Sanskrit word *Sekhara*. As Tamil and Malayalam have no aspirates, phonetically *Sekhara* will be *Sekara* or *Segaran*. The medial *k* is pronounced as *g* and is generally dropped in Malayalam. *Pogum-Pom; âgum-âm; âgayal-âyal; clâgum-chàm; magan.môn; magal-môl; mugal-môl.* By the elision of the medial *k*, *Sekaran* will be *seran.* In Malayalam *ch* and *s* often interchange. *Palicha-Palisa, chelavu-selavu, chêla-sêla, chetti-sresthi, churuti-sruti, sheruda-sridevi.* So according to this transmutation *seran* will be *ceran.* The identity of *Seran* and *Ceran* has been accepted by Dr. Caldwell.[4] Now in North Malabar children who are called Sekharan are usually called *Cheran.* If this identification of *Sekhara* and Chera is accepted as valid and proved, we have, on the evidence of language, to trace the origin of the Chera kingdom to Sekhara. From Wilson's report on the Mackenzie collections, it will be founp that *Chera* was a feudatory state under the powerful kingdoms of Chola and Pandya and that at one time of its history it included Malabar and a part of Travancore. The Maharajahs of Travanjore even now use the designation Kulasekhara to indicate their connection with the sovereigns of the Pandyan dynasty. From the fact of the kingdom of Chera being associated with and being a dependency of the more powerful Pandya kingdom we may suppose that a scion of the royal family of Kulasekhara Pandya set up a new

4. Comp. Gr. p. 23.

kingdom and in memory of his illustrious ancestor called it after him. This derivation of Chera stands in need of confirmation from history, but the origin of the three ancient kingdoms of Southern India is all involved in darkness. "When evidence is inconclusive, probability becomes argument." Dr. Caldwell's statement that Chera and Kerala are used as synonymous terms in Tamil and Malayalam, finds its explanation in the fact that Kerala was for a long time under the sway of Chera princes.

It has been shown that Chera and Kerala are of Sanskrit origin, that Kerala is the more ancient of the two and that Kerala was fully known in Northern India in the third century before the Christian era. Chera has been proved to be allied to Sekhara. According to *Keralolpatti*, Kulasekhara Perumal was one of the ancient viceroys of Malabar.

NAMBURI.

I will now try to settle the etymology of the term Namburi. Various are the etymologies suggested for the word. The author of the *Kerala Viseshya Mahatmya*—Subrahmanya Potti—derives the word from *nam* (the Vedas) and *puri* (pri to fill), Namburi being pre-eminently the Brahman that fulfils the essential condition of Brahmanhood in regard to the study of the Vedas. Though one of the meanings of the word *na* given in Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary is knowledge which may be specialised as the knowledge of the Veda and then identified with the Veda itself, the term Nampuri in this acception is unknown to Sanskrit dictionaries and is not employed by any Sanskrit authors. Among Namburis, those whose special function is to teach the Vedas are called Vadhyans, a *Tadbhava* of Upâdhyayas. If it is urged that of all modern Brahman communities, the Namburis alone are the most enthusiastic in, and attentive to, the study of the Vedas and hence deserve the name of the fulfillers of the Vedas, they must have had some other designation before the supposed fall of other Brahmans which made the Namburis more exalted. As Namburis as a class will be the last persons to make such an invidious distinction, the above etymology has to be discarded.

M. SESHAGIRI PRABHU.

(To be continued)

INDIA: THE HOME OF PHILOSOPHY.

I. INTRODUCTION.

PHILOSOPHY signifies the love of wisdom. All philosophic endeavours spring from the impulse of the human mind to comprehend itself and the world around it. Every age of the world and every people, the mind of which has attained to any degree of cultivation, have had their different philosophies, *i. e.*, have tried to unravel the problems of their own existence and of the universe around them. An adequate knowledge of the universe is the aim of the highest scientific thought. Each science professes to give the last word that can, for the time, be said not on the universe as a whole, but on that particular part of it with which it is concerned. If the several sciences give only the final deliverances that can be made for the time being in their respective spheres, philosophy gives a comprehensive conception of the universe. And it is only when the final deliverances of all the sciences have been thus co-ordinated, and also subordinated to higher generalizations, that one can be said to have an adequate conception of the universe as a whole.

The differences among philosophers hitherto may be resolved ultimately into a difference of psychological theory accompanied by certain differences of cosmological conception, all subject to or ending in a difference in respect of ontological faith.

First, as to the psychological theory, on the origin of knowledge, according to one school, all knowledge is derived solely from experience. There is no such thing as innate or *a priori* truth. This theory is called the Empirical theory or the theory of Sensationalism. The formula of this class of philosophers is 'nothing is in the intellect which has not before been in the senses.' The other theory is that of *a priori* ideas or the theory of Intuitionalism or Transcendentalism. According to this theory, there are elements of knowledge, the origin or reason of which transcends or lies beyond the horizon of experience. In the struggle of these two opposed psychological theories, much of the essence of the history of philosophy is involved.

The cosmological question relates to the cosmos or the universe, the object of knowledge. The cosmological conception of any man is the true abstract or representation of his whole mind or philosophy. Two main cosmological systems have figured in the past

history of philosophy, *viz.*, Substantialism and Non-Substantialism or Nihilism. The former is again divided into Realism or Dualism and Monism which is subdivided into Materialism, Idealism and Absolute Identity or Absolute Monism. According to Natural Realism or Dualism, both mind (or spirit) and matter are distinct realities. The material world is exactly in every respect the world which the senses cognise as external to them. All mankind may be described as Natural Realists. Materialism holds that matter is the primordial unity and mind is educed from it, while Idealism abolishes matter as a distinct or independent existence and resoves it completely into mind. But Absolute Identity or Absolute Monism (called Pantheism in Religion) holds that matter or spirit and matter are phenomenal modifications of one common substance. The whole cosmos (both spirit and matter) is referred to one absolute entity, of which it is to be conceived as but the function, activity, manifestation or flourishing. The second cosmological theory of Non-substantialism or Nihilism or Phenomenalism holds that the phenomenal cosmos, whether regarded as consisting of two parallel successions of phenomena (mind and matter) or of only one (mind or matter) resolves itself on analysis into an absolute nothingness—mere appearance with no credible substratum of reality—a play of phantasm in a void.

Psychology and cosmology are the sciences of the phenomenal, but ontology is the science of the absolute. It is the science of things in themselves. The ontological difference is intertangled with the psychological and cosmological differences, and a discussion of these latter brings the former into sight.

Though there are thus three main philosophical problems, yet, as stated before, the cosmological conception of any man is the true abstract or representation of his whole mind or philosophy.

II. INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.

India is the home of philosophy. The earliest philosophy in the West *i. e.*, the Greek philosophy owes largely to India. The native philosophy of India is the Vedanta, based on the *Upanishads*, which are generally found at the end of the Vedas, the scripture of the Hindus. Of the non-vedic systems of philosophy, two forms of Buddhism, the Idealistic and the Nihilistic, as well as the Materialism of the Charvakas deserve mention. The remaining cosmological systems which have their counterparts in

Indian philosophy are Dualism and Absolute Monism. There are two main schools of Vedanta, the Monistic or the *Advaita* and the Dualistic or the *Visishtadvaita* and the *Dvaita*. The Monistic or the *Advaita* school of Vedanta was systematized by Sri Sankara. According to Advaitism, all that exists is one only because if the existence of anything besides the Absolute One or the Supreme Being were admitted, whatever the second by the side of the one might be, it would constitute a limit to what was postulated as absolute and would have made the concept of the one self-contradictory. The phenomenal world has its reality in Brahman, the Absolute alone. Such is the Advaitic view of the cosmos which includes ourselves, quite as much as what we call the objective world. Without Brahman, the one real being, nothing that exists in our knowledge could exist, neither our self nor what in our knowledge is not our self. The fundamental doctrine of Sankara is that there is Brahman and nothing else. The individual soul is no doubt Brahman, for there is nothing but Brahman. Brahman is the operative or the efficient cause of the universe because there is no other substance from which the world could originate. The phrases "efficient" and "material" cause will be better understood by giving the illustration used by Sankara himself. The potter is the efficient cause, and the earth the material cause of the pot. Similarly when it is said that Brahman is both the material and the efficient cause of this universe, it comes to this that there is no difference between the potter, the earth and the pot, and that they are all one. The Advaitin argues that there can be no two absolutes, for if besides the absolute Being, there are two other entities, matter and soul, they would render the absolute conditioned. It is remarkable that the philosophy of modern science agrees fundamentally with the philosophy of Sri Sankara which is admitted by Professor Max Muller and Dr. Thibaut to be nearer the *Upanishads* than the other schools of Vedanta. The other chief schools of Vedanta are the Dualistic which includes the *Visishtadvaita* of *Sri Ramanuja* and the *Dvaita* of Sri Madhva, according to both of whom, matter and spirit are different from the Supreme Being.

III WESTERN PHILOSOPHY.

The fore-runner and type of Western philosophy was the Greek philosophy which was largely indebted to Indian philosophy. Philosophy was not at first possible in Greece as long as its mythology was rampant. The first Greek attempt at philosophy was the

Ionian philosophy which sprang out of the Greek religion after its decline due to the influence of philosophical criticism. Ionian philosophy marks the beginning of physical speculation in Greece. It tried to grapple with the question of the First Principle of the universe and found it in water, earth, fire and air. Diogenes converted the physical system of *Anaximenes* into a psychological system, when he said that air was the soul of man.

Next came the Italian school. Anaximander had an exclusively abstract tendency in his speculations. His conception of the all, though abstract, is nevertheless, to a great degree, physical. It involved no conception of intelligence which development will be found in the Eleatics. Pythagoras asserted that number and harmony were the essence or the first principle of things.

The next or the Eleatic school devoted itself to the supra-sensible things, therein differing from the previous schools which compared themselves to the material. Aristophanes taught, like Sankara, that there could not be more than one all-powerfull and all-perfect being for if there were even two, those attributes could not apply to one of them. Much less could they apply if there were many. This one principle or power is the same as the universe, the substance of which is eternal and identical with God, for there cannot be two omnipresences or two eternals. Here we see the first glimpse of Indian Pantheism. Parmenides declared that the all is thought and intelligence and they are one. Just as Parmenides established the existence of the one, Zeno established the non-existence of the many. Only one thing, he said, can be the substance of all the manifold appearances.

Further than the Eleatic School, the speculation on a first principle could not go. Then came a transition which is seen in Heraclitus, who maintained a constant flux in nature and taught that the Universal Life consisted in motion and was not a fixed entity.

From this point of view, the whole aspect of speculation became changed. Instead of one substance, *Anaxagoras* saw the necessity of admitting many substances. At the same time, he carried out the Eleatic principle of the one, thus avoiding the criticisms of Zeno against the upholders of the many. He taught the existence of the one Infinite Intelligence who was the architect of the Infinite

matter (the many). Here the unity of the world makes way for a Dualistic hypothesis; mind and matter are now seen as the two great elements of existence. Empedocles clearly gave up the notion of the world consisting of one single principle altogether. Democritus taught the atomic theory. He explained how the many could arise from the one.

The Eleatic metaphysics led to a reaction which is represented by the Sophists whose scepticism is analogous to Buddhism that succeeded the philosophy of the Vedas in India.

The spread of Sophism led to Socrates teaching the necessity and importance of virtue and morality. He took the existence of God for granted.

Plato, a disciple of Socrates, taught the existence of three primary principles, of God, matter and ideas. Aristotle rose from the particulars to the universal, just the reverse of Plato. Plato was an Idealist and Aristotle was a Materialist. Plato has always been the glory of the Idealists, while Aristotle has been the great authority and pattern of the various sensational schools of philosophy.

The later Greek philosophies tended in three directions. It assumed the attitude of moral elevation and looked upon the world as insignificant or worthless (Stoics and Cynics) or it assumed the attitude of self-enjoyment and regarded the world as a mere tool to furnish means for this end (Epicureans) or it took a more speculative position assuming the attitude of doubt and reduced the world to a philosophical nullity (Sceptics).

Here ancient Greek philosophy ends. This brings us to the time when Greece became a province of Rome. It was just then that Christianity was founded. Rome was not the centre for the growth of philosophy.

The last great school of ancient philosophy was that of Alexandria. There the elements of the various Oriental religious systems were brought into close contact with the results of Greecian thought. For such a combination of Oriental ideas with Greek philosophy, the system of Plato formed the readiest point of contact. In this way arose Neo-Platonism which united the Eastern doctrine of emanation with the Platonic doctrine of Ideas. The Alexandrian school did much to unify Western with Oriental philosophy. It

encouraged eclectic philosophical Pantheism. This rare and unparalleled activity is due to the contact of the Greek with the ancient civilization of India. The Neo-Platonists taught that ideas emanated from the one and that the last and lowest stage of emanation was the material world. Plotinus is the main representative of this school.

Greek philosophy came to a close by the order of Justinian who prohibited the teaching of philosophy and closed its schools.

We have seen that the first problem that engaged the Greek mind was the origin of the world. It is not altogether possible to exclude the spiritual from the world. Thus naturally the second question of Greek philosophy was about the soul, which was also considered to be material. God himself was then supposed to be of a material form. The third problem was thus about God. The answer to these three questions in the early period of Greek philosophy tended to Pantheism or Monism.

Ultimately Greek philosophy rejected the anthropomorphic God and concluded that the universe is God, and all things, animate and inanimate, are of his essence, The world was regarded as the visible manifestation of God. The world evolved from God, just as the plant evolves from the seed. It is an emanation from God. The visible issues from the invisible and returns again to it. The soul was itself considered to be of the essence of God, the necessary corollary of Pantheism. Thus the Greek and the Indian philosophies resemble each other not only as regards the problems that engaged their attention, but also as regards the final results arrived at by them.

The Mediæval philosophy in the West was largely influenced by Christianity. The first school of Mediæval philosophy was gnosticism which believed in the two realities God and world or matter and spirit. The second school of Mediæval philosophy *i. e.*, Aristotelianism was a contrast to the transcendental Neo-Platonism. The gradual tendency of the scientific mind of Europe to turn from Platonism to Aristotelianism is the first influence which marked the transition from the philosophy of the early fathers of the church to the Scholasticism of the Middle Ages—the third school of Mediæval philosophy.

During the Middle Ages, speculation was for the most part held in with tight reins by the Church and in consequence we hear little of Pantheism. Almost the only philosopher who advocated or who

even seems to have taught about it is John Scotus Erigena who was probably led to it by his study of the Alexandrians. Erigena is regarded as the link that unites ancient and modern Pantheism.

There was in opposition to Scholasticism a steady advance of freethought. Bruno belongs to this period. Modern Pantheism first shows itself in Bruno. In him reappear the speculations of the Eleatics and of the Neo-Platonists. According to him, the universe is only an emanation from the infinite mind—the eternal expression of its infinite activity. Bruno taught the outlines of a theory of cosmic evolution conceived as an essentially vital process. Matter and form are here identified and the evolution of the world is presented as the unfolding of the world-spirit to its perfect forms according to the plastic substratum (matter) which is but one of its sides. This process of change is conceived as a transformation in appearance only of the real unchanging substance. His theory was essentially Pantheistic.

Modern European philosophy began with Bacon and Descartes, who gave the final blow to ancient philosophy and the first form to the new. Modern philosophy is but a repetition of the ancient philosophy which was its fore-runner and type. Bacon gave his attention to physical science and analysed nature. Descartes turned to an analysis of thought. Bacon was the father of Sensationalism founded on the philosophy of Aristotle, and Descartes was the father of Idealism, founded on the philosophy of Plato. According to Bacon, experience was the ultimate basis and the main source of knowlodge. Descartes was a Dualist. Hobbes was a Materialist and Berkeley an Idealist. Hume was a Nihilist. Spinoza taught that God is not only the one but there can be no real existence besides. He is the Great Universal all, and mind and matter are his attributes. God is the cause of all things, inasmuch as all things are but modes of his own infinite attributes. Leibnitz taught that the universe was substance and force combined. Power and substance are indissoluble realities. The universe consists of an infinite number of forces, all emanating from the infinite being. Leibnitz broke down the partition between matter and mind. Schelling teaches that theEgo and Non-Ego are equally real and that they are identified in the Absolute.

IV. THE PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE.

Unification is the characteristic of developing thought and science is at its highest when it interprets all orders of phenomena as differently conditioned manifestations of one kind of substance. Pantheism or Monism is the necessary consequence of all metaphysical inquiry, when pushed to its logical limits and for this reason do we find it in every age and nation. Pantheism is as old as philosophy. Belief in Pantheism has been almost from time immemorial, a very wide one. Alike in the religious books of the Hindus, the Vedas, as in their philosophy the Vedanta, in the speculations of the early Greek philosophers as in the speculations of the later Christian thinkers, in the philosophy of Neo-Platonism as in the Transcendentalism of Schelling, in the scientific opinion of Bruno as in the ratiocinations of Spinoza, in the synthetic philosophy of Herbert Spencer as in the philosophy of modern science, Pantheism is the keynote of all their philosophies, the one doctrine of which they were all, though in various degrees, exponents. The unanimity of so many thinkers, separated alike by time, space and religion, separated by every habit and every doctrine, save this one, makes this single point of resemblance singularly suggestive. Of all the solutions of the riddle of existence, Pantheism is the most in accordance with scientific discoveries. Pantheism is the offspring of a matured and cultivated conception of the universe. The doctrine of the unity of the universe, though it has been preached by exceptional spirits in many nations and for many centuries, has only reached the dignity of a science in the last century. The more we investigate into the discoveries of science, the further removed from us appears to be the dualistic explanation of the universe. On the contrary, the Monistic conception of the universe is gradually growing into recognition. This is the marvellous generalization by which the nineteenth century will be chiefly remembered. Pantheism teaches that matter and mind are but the outer aspects of the one reality which underlies as it includes all external phenomena. There is a unity which runs through Nature, displaying itself alike in minerals, plants and animals, connecting the organic world with the inorganic. Pantheism opposes the belief that would demonstrate two substances, God and the universe. Pantheism asserts that there is a Reality—incomprehensible indeed, because infinite, but displaying itself without possibility of contradiction through every act and phase of Nature. The unity of Nature and the demolition of the earlier Dualism are among the most valuable results of modern science. The older view of Dualism is breaking up, but upon the vast field of ruins rises majestic and brilliant the new sun of Monism, which reveals to us the wonderful temple of Nature in all its beauty. The doctrine of two substances, says Bain, which has prevailed to the present day, is now in course of being modified. The arguments for two

substances have now entirely lost their validity. They are no larger compatible with ascertained science and clear thinking. The one substance, with two sets of properties, two sides, the physical and the mental, a double-faced unity would appear to comply with all the exigencies of the case. The philosophy of science teaches, in the words of Herbert Spencer, that though the relation of subject and object renders necessary the antithetical conceptions of spirit and matter, the one is, no less than the other, to be regarded as but a sign of the one absolute reality which underlies both.

V. CONCLUSION.

It will be seen from the foregoing remarks that Greek philosophy, the fore-runner and the type of Western philosophy, which in modern times has reverted to Indian and Greek results, was only a repetition of Indian philosophy and that modern philosophy has but corroborated the Monism of the past, by the advancement of Western science. It is an admitted fact that there was intercourse in ancient times between India and Greece. Some Greek writers admit that the early Greek philosophy was influenced by Indian philosophy. It is also admitted that Alexander the Great when he returned from India after his invasion of it took with him some Brahman philosophers whom he settled at Alexandria, where the Neo-Platonic school was afterwards established. India is the most ancient country in the world yet known. Can it not therefore be claimed that India is the home of philosophy?

The study of philosophy is the highest intellectual pursuit. Philosophy is the science of sciences. It deals with questions of the deepest and the most enduring interest to man which have occupied thoughtful minds in all ages of the world, which are handed down from age to age and which each generation, however much of previous thought concerning them it may inherit and preserve, has to ponder over again for itself. Professor Masson says that whatever nation has given up philosophy is in a state of intellectual insolvency and though its granaries should be bursting, though its territories should be netted with railroads, though its mills and foundries should be the busiest in the world, the mark of the beast is upon it and it is going the way of all brutality. Those that are engaged in philosophical studies may be called useless by the busy and toiling portion of humanity. But, if it is true that they also serve who stand and wait, then may it not be hoped that even the quiet and the thoughtful in the land are not so entirely useless as they appear to be! In the words of an Indian philosopher, better the rock-bound toad, better the crawling earth-worm, better the blind cave-serpent than the man without inquiry! May philosophy be restored to its ancient glory in this land of its birth!

N. K. RAMASWAMI AIYA.

THE GENESIS OF KERALA.

(Continued).

LET us now turn and look for the "physical justification for the legendary origin" of Kerala. Our analysis of all the different versions of the legend has shown their common substratum to be the fact of a sudden upheaval of the land, of probably volcanic origin, above the sea within the knowledge of man. How far do the present configuration and geological conditions of Kerala justify this inference? This is the question, then, that has to be answered. Although the geological exploration of the tract concerned has yet to be completed, the results of the observations already gathered are, it is permissible to hold, such as, in themselves, confirm our view of the tradition. The following facts culled mainly from Government publications embodying the results established by the research operations of the Indian Geological Survey clench the question at issue:—

(*a*) The Dekkan plateau in its condition of dry land is of immense antiquity. Its first, most prevalent and foundational rock formation is the gneiss which is overlaid by a series of sub-metamorphic or transition rocks known as the *Cuddapah series* which are themselves overlaid by another series, called the *Kurnool series*. Both the latter formations appear to have been affected by the same lateral movement that produced the present position of the gneiss and, like it, again, they show a more or less north-and-south direction of the hills they form. No traces of organic life have been found up to this point. It is certain that the great mass of the gneiss of the southern part of the Dekkan plateau has not been submerged below the sea since palœozoic times, and there may be seen in it one of the oldest known tracts of *terra firma* on the face of the globe. The absolute absence of marine fossils in the tableland of the Western Ghats is a remarkable geological feature, particularly so when it is remembered that it is due to neither any alteration of the strata nor to the deficiency of rocks suited for the preservation of organic remains.

In Kerala we have, on the other hand, the *Quilon beds* and the *Warkilli beds*, formations undoubtedly of marine origin resting one above the other on the great foundational gneissic system. The former owe their discovery to the late General Cullen who found

them forty feet below the laterite of Quilon and are said to be "argillaceous limestones or a kind of dolomite in which a marine fauna of univalve shells having an eocene *facies* was found," the fauna including an *orbolite* (*Orb. Malabarica*) together with *Strombus fortisi*, *Cerithium rude* and several other species closely allied in form to the figured shells of the eocene period, while the latter, a far more widely distributed formation, directly underlie the recent deposits and appear to consist, in descending order, of detrital laterite, sandy clays, alum clays and lignite beds occuring in association with iron pyrites and a kind of fossil resin. This lignitiferous deposit of upper tertiary age, suggestive of interesting problems as to the geology and history of this part of the world, was first observed as a small patch confined to the coast between the Quilon and Anjengo backwaters. Lieutenant Newbold has reported its occurrence in the section of a cliff extending down to the water level in the Beypore river, and Mr. W. Logan, M. C. S., in his *Malabar Manual*, points out that the stratum is well known at Cannanore and is often met with in sinking wells at that place.[1] There is indirect evidence to show that it extends very much further afield, and perhaps it may be safely concluded that it stretches far and wide on the West Coast inland as well as to some distance in the sea. The soft unctuous mud that has built up the famous mud-banks[2] off the Malabar Coast at Quilandy, Calicut, Narakal and Alleppey which often do duty for harbours (as in the notable case of Vasco Da gama's fleet which owed its protection through the monsoon of 1498 to the bank in the Quilandy offing) and produces the kindred phenomenon of *ked vellam* or "fetid water" one often meets with in the West Coast sea and backwaters seems to be the same as that which was struck when a canal was constructed about the middle of the last century to connect the two rivers, Kadalundi

1. The author was himself present at the deepening of a well at Madayi—a place 14 miles north of Cannanore whose *Sthalamahatmya* (local chronicle) speaks of a miraculous upheaval of the place from the sea. The boring showed, at a depth of nearly 20 feet, below a bed of hard laterite, pieces of decayed wood with what looked like iron nails driven in and *dammer* (indigenous to West Coast forests). Considering the presence of this resin as well as the fact that the iron pieces found looked decidedly less like pyrites than fashioned nails, one is inclined to regard the deposit as the wreck of some primitive craft, in which case it will have, of course, to be assigned to an age very much more recent than the upper tertiary. The question is, however, not one for laymen to pronounce an opinion upon.

2. *Vide* the author's article on this subject which appeared in the *Calcutta Review* for May, 1903.

and Ponnani in South Malabar and was found oozing so persistently as to necessitate abandonment of the cutting, and this mud, it has been proved, derives its unctuous character "principally from the distillation of oil in subjacent lignitiferous deposits belonging presumably to Warkilli strata."

Thus it follows that the valley of Kerala was a marine floor till about the close of the tertiary age, while the adjacent plateau of the Ghats has remained high and dry at least from palæozoic times onward.

(*b*) Another argument equally conclusive to the same effect is furnished by the "unmistakable traces of a plateau or terraced character" more or less present nearly everywhere from the northern extremity of the Malabar District to within a few miles of Cape Comorin. The tract is a more or less even-surfaced formation exhibiting, in spite of the denudation agents, that have, for ages, been at work thereon, an elevation in its most typical parts of one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet above the sea and touching the shore in cliffs or headlands as at Varkalay and in the Papancheri hills in Travancore and towards the north at Elattur, Kollam near Quilandy, Tellicherry, Darmapattanam, Cannanore and Mount Deli near Madayi. The terraces are best displayed about Trivandrum and Trichur, and in the Malabar District they are conspicuous north and south of the Taliparamba river and also at Malapuram, Kalpakancheri and other places in the south. Mr. W. King, D. Sc., till lately the Director of the Indian Geological Survey, whose special study of the geology of the southern half of Travancore, and visits made to the Coimbatore and Malabar Districts and also to Cochin in connection with an enquiry on the harbours specially qualified him to "generalize as to the lie and character of the few rock formations" over the West Coast, points out in his "General sketch of the geology of the Travancore state" that the Warkilli beds constitute the seaward edge of the plateau or terraced country above described and that they present similar features. "The Warkilli downs," he goes on, "are a feature of the country.........Whatever form of denudation may have produced the now much worn terrace of the gneissic portion of the country, the same also determined the general surface of the Warkilli beds. Indeed, it gradually dawned on me, while surveying this country (Travancore), having the remembrance of what I had seen of the

plateaus and terraced lowland in Malabar in previous years, that here, clearly, on this western side of India is an old marine terrace which must be of later date than the Warkilli beds. These are, as I have endeavoured to show in another paper, of probably upper tertiary age......Hence this terrace must be late tertiary or post-pliocene, and it marks the last great or decided elevation of southern India prior to which, as is very probable, the Indian land arose almost directly from the sea by its Western Ghats."

(*c*) Indeed, the Ghats expose their strata cut into a deep scarp or inland cliff on the western side perhaps more by marine action than by the influence of the atmophere, while they shelve into rolling plains and divergent valleys to the east. Their aspect, when viewed from a distance on the west, it will be also observed, is far from even. In Canara the mountain range almost touches the sea, but it enters Malabar about fifteen miles inland and then continues to recede as it goes southward so that the widest part of the valley is well on to fifty miles across, all along throwing out spurs far into the plains. Mr. Logan describes the system as "a magnificent array in *echelon* of mountain heights with their front facing southwards and with their loftiest peaks like grenadier companies protecting the right of the line." The imagery is not altogether a poetic conceit but expresses a geological fact; for, it must be remembered that these cliffs are the veteran survivors of a secular struggle with the dashing waves of the Arabian Sea. The Western Ghats range, stretching along from the river Tapti to Cape Comorin for a length of 1,000 miles and aptly described by Mr. King as "the backbone or mid-rib" of peninsular India, has a western contour which runs from north to south to a point a little to the north of Malabar and then assumes an east-south-east strike roughly parallel to the correspond-ing coast line. The most superficial observer cannot fail to be struck with the probability that the coast and the mountain outline owe their trend to the same natural agency, *viz.*, the erosion of the sea directed by the course of the prevailing littoral current. Now, there is a mighty ocean current known to sweep across from Madagascar and the east African coast and to impinge on the Malabar coast at a point a little to the north of the northernmost part of the Malabar District where it divides into two branches, the main branch flowing southwards down the coast, and this south-ward current must have worn out the western face of the Ghats, the ancient shore-line, just in the same manner as it, to this day, is

found acting on the coast line and giving rise to "denuded headlands where the primeval rocks jut up and form barriers to the encroachment of the waves which sweeping round the obstructions gradually hollow out bays to the southward of them."

(*d*) Mr. King points out that the West Coast valley is generally "higher" than the East Coast, and here, again, we find the key to its distinct geological formation. Supposing the valley of Kerala to be a denudation hollow carved by rain and rivers out of the original South Indian plateau as the low valleys on the other side of the Ghats have, by geological researches, been proved to be, we must expect to find its general elevation much *lower*. The meteorological conditions and the number and character of the rivers and mountain streams[3] of the region to the west of the watershed are certainly phenomenal and their effects by way of atmospheric erosion have been held by Mr. King to account for the wearing away of over 2000 feet of superincumbent gneiss "once continuous between the Nilgiri mountains and the Vellera Mala range." We must conclude that *Kerala is not a mountain plain worn down, but a marine floor thrown up.*

(*e*) Further, the West Coast seems to be fairly entitled to be termed a region of geological vicissitudes in contradistinction to the adjoining plateau which is said to be characterised by the "singular absence of any evidence of that disturbance in late geological times which marks the rest of Asia." Observations point to the existence of a subterranean line of heat-foci or centres of volcanic energy "possibly lying parallel to the west coast of India" whose distillatory action on the Warkilli deposits is, as has been shown by Mr. King, accountable for the presence of "a sensible amount of oil" in the stratum of unctuous soft mud come upon in several parts of Kerala. Volcanoes are generally found near the sea, and the increase of internal pressure to which volcanic eruptions or upheavals are due is believed to be caused by water percolating through the earth's crust and being changed to steam by the internal heat. The physiographical conditions of the West Coast seem to be particularly favourable to sustenance of volcanic energy, and as a matter of fact, the mud volcanoes connected with the mud-bank off

3. The Alwye river "has been known to rise nearly 16 feet in 24 hours", *Vide* "The Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency."

Alleppey have been observed by Mr. H. Crawford, sometime Commercial Agent of the Travancore Sirkar at Alleppey, to "become more active after heavy rains."

The above facts—not to speak of the evidence furnished by pelagic shells which we do not dwell upon, these, though found apparently *in situ* in upland tracts, being, for obvious reasons, less conclusive,—point to the origin of Kerala in a volcanic upheaval as more than a fair probability, a scientific certainty. It is, however, not to be supposed that the land thus heaved up was, in extent and outline, *exactly* the same as the West Coast tract in its present form. Such a hypothesis would argue a quiescence of the land which militates not only against its proved geological conditions but also against instances of its upheaval or subsidence in places which have occurred in historical times. These changes have but affected its coast-margin, but they are important as furnishing comparatively recent illustrations of the operation, though on a smaller scale, of those natural forces which produced the great upheaval in post-pliocene times.

The most striking of these new formations is the strip of land which stretches between the sea and the backwater for about forty miles from Changanacherry to Pallipuram and on which now stand the flourishing seaports of Cochin and Alleppey. Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai, B. A., B. L., in his interesting work on "The Tamils: Eighteen hundred years ago," has successfully identified the seaports mentioned by Ptolemy of Alexandria and proved that in his time (126—61 A. D.) the sea-coast ran along the eastern shore of the backwater. It follows that the littoral strip which now forms its western boundary is of later origin. Indeed, the town of British Cochin is shown by the subsoil brought up from an artesian well recently sunk there to have been not long ago submerged in the sea. Some writers incline to the opinion that the new land was brought into existance by "the perpetual antgonism between the mountain torrents and the sea,"[4] but its size and lie indicate that its origin must be looked for in causes other than those which make for the formation of bars from sand-drifts carried by the littoral currents at the months of all rivers on the West Coast. That it had a volcanic origin is proved to demonstration by the observations made by

4. Fra Bartholomeo seems to have been the first to advance this theory. *Vide* his work, "A Voyoge to the East Indies."

Mr. Rohde who succeeded Mr. Crawford as Commercial Agent at Alleppey. We quote from his report embodied in the "Report on the Administration of Travancore for 1881—2":—

"I cannot give dates as I have no records but it is certain that the coast from about north of Calicut to south of Quilon was once well above the level of the sea and was, after a long period, totally submerged and then again was thrown up by volcanic action and has again been partially covered by sea. I state this because in cutting the Warkallai tunnel trees were found and also shells have been found on the coast which are known to belong to a class of shell-fish that only live in deep water. Remnants of a fort at Poracaud were visible 30 years ago and at Calicut and Vypeen massive buildings are now in the sea."

Vypeen, an island of about twelve square miles in extent, was thrown up in recent times, as also shown by the "Vypeen era" dating from 1341 A. D., which marks either its elevation above the sea or colonization, more probably the former. Undoubted proofs of a subsidence of land exist at Calicut where the entrance to the anchorages particularly from the southward is to some extent impeded by a reef known as "Coote reef" from one of the East India Company's vessels having grounded on it. The reef is believed, according to tradition referred to by Captain Alexander Hamilton, to be the "ruins of the sunken town built by the Portuguese." The truth of the tradition is open to question, but there is no doubt that the tomb of an Arab of Himisi in Egypt once stood on a spot now covered by the sea. "His bones," says Mr. Logan, "were recovered and a birth-feast (*mavalud*) is now held annually in his honour in the month Rajab at his mosque."

The *Sthalapurana* of the temple at Madayi says that the place with the renowned temple dedicated to a goddess, the tutelary deity of the Chirakkal Rajah's family as well as the royal family of Travancore was brought up from the sea by the goddess, and the etymology of the name of the place[5] endorses the theory of an upheaval. Some deep-sea shells have been met with stuck fast to the laterite formations with which the place abounds, and there are other geological features also which point in the same direction. It is extremely probable that the place was thrown up in recent times.

Kerala, since its upheaval from the bottom of the sea, has witnessed many geological changes, and some of these at all events may be put down to the "residual effects" of the original upheaval —effects which, as we have seen, are referred to in the traditional

5. *Madayi* is made up of the Malayalam words, *madu* (land, sand-bank) and *ayi* (became).

accounts as well. The exact extent of the country covered by the original upheaval, it is by no means easy to determine. But to the southward it seems to have been co-terminous with the Western Ghats. In the southernmost portion of Travancore we have, probably, a continuation of the old Dekkan plateau which, in ancient times, is known to have not terminated at Cape Comorin but extended very much further south.[6] Mr. King points out that south of Trivandrum the well-known plateau traces gradually disappear, the last trace being in the flat upland bordering the seashore at Kolachel. The broad stretch of low country on the Madura and Tinnevelly side is a southerly prolongation of the wide plains of the Carnatic which goes round by Cape Comorin and joins the narrower and rather more elevated, low country of Travancore.

Some writers hold that Kerala, albeit of late origin as compared with the adjoining plateau, was not thrown up by volcanic action but was left high and dry by the gradual receding of the Arabian Sea. Physical science tells us that the receding of the sea—unless we regard the phenomenon as brought about by a change in the earth's orbit or any other astronomical cause—implies a reduction of its content or unevenness of its level and is *ipso facto* an impossibility, and we know that when people speak of the encroachment or withdrawal of the sea, common occurrences in all parts of the world, they really refer to corresponding changes in the level of the *land*. The Rev. William Taylor says that there are astronomical reasons for thinking that there must have been a great retiring of the mass of the waters from the northern hemisphere during the period within 500 to 1,000 years after the Noachian deluge and that, unless the level of the Malabar Coast be greatly beneath the Coromandel level, from this also a similar ritiring of waters must have taken place at the same time. The date given by English theologians to the deluge is 2,348 B. C., and Kerala, in its condition of dry land, is thus not more than 3,751 years old—a position which opposes an inflexible *non possumus* to the ascertained facts alike of geology and history. The theory hardly bears refutation, and it is enough here to point out that unimpeachable evidence has been brought to light

6. The Tamil poem of *Chilappathikaram* and the account of the *Periplus* show that south of Cape Comorin there existed in ancient times a mountain called Kumarikkodu and a large tract of country watered by the river Pahruli. Traces of buildings are said to have been met with of late in the sea, a little to the south of the Cape.

of ancient commercial intercourse between the people of the Malabar Coast and the nations across the sea dating back not only to the times of Solomon but to the far more remote periods of Akkadian rule long prior to Sargon I who is now known to have reigned about 3800 B. C.

It may be safely affirmed that Kerala was not formed by the *gradual* receding of the sea or rise of the land. Such a change could not, it is manifest, have formed the subject of a tradition. Man would not have noticed it any more than the growth of his limbs or the development of his intellect. Similar elevation of land has been going on in various parts of the world. The coast of India itself, not of course excluding the Malabar Coast, shows traces of very gradual elevation. The Coromandel Coast, according to Mr. Bruce Foote, has undergone, in this way, "an elevation of close upon 200 feet if not more". Marine shells have recently been discovered in an excavation in Clive Street, Calcutta, and Mr. E. Vredenburg of the Geological Survey, Calcutta, in exhibiting these shells at a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, illustrated the remarkable variations in the rate of fall of the rivers of the Indian peninsula "all of which have been caused by a considerable warping of the surface," None of these instances of land-elevation has ever been observed or handed down, and there is no doubt that the upheaval of Kerala was of a different character and must have naturally produced a profound impression on those before whom the phenomenon occurred.

Imagine primitive man—postpliocene man, that is,—on the western margin of the Dekkan plateau, rising one morning to find the Arabian Sea that had but a few hours ago lapped the precipices below replaced altogether by a brand-new formation of land belched from Davy Jones's locker and stretching farther than his eyes could see. The impression made, it is easy to understand, must have been indelible and such as to have given rise to a tradition about the supernatural origin of the phenomenon. Indeed much less striking features and phenomena of nature have formed subjects of popular traditions and legends all the world over, and the tendencies at work are, of course, particularly strong in the imaginative East. Geologists have pointed out how, owing to a system of jointing which crosses the Pamban sandstone barrier nearly at right angles, the action of the waves has broken it up into a series of large, flat

blocks bearing a striking resemblance to a series of gigantic stepping-stones, and in the imaginative style of the author or authors of the *Ramayana*, this rocky ridge has come to be described as an old cause-way of human construction. Adam's peak in Ceylon, from its peculiar shape, has become the basis of a similar tradition. It is said to represent the foot-print, on the one hand, of Adam, and on the other, of Buddha. Seismology is a science of very recent growth, and the average Hindu still believes all earthquakes and allied disturbances to be caused by Ananda, the serpent-god, on whom the earth is supposed to rest, trying to relieve himself by shifting the burden on from one shoulder to the other. And it is nothing to be surprised at that those who had direct knowledge of the great upheaval of Kerala took it as divinely caused in some unintelligible way. When, however, the great Parasurama, the ancestor-leader of the Nagas from beyond the Himalayas invaded and settled on the Malabar Coast and became installed in popular tradition as the conqueror and culture-hero of Kerala, the miraculous reclamation of the country was, of all things, the first *tour de force* attributed to him, and hence the tradition as it has come down to us. The origin of the tradition takes us back to the distant postpliocene times when, as geological researches prove, the Dekkan was already inhabited by man.

The traditional account of the genesis of Kerala is thus found to be based on a geological event—an upheaval of land in post-pliocene times—which naturally came to be attributed to Parasurama when he came to be canonised and worshipped as the hero-god of Kerala, or "Parasurama's land" as it has since come to be called.

A. KRISHNA PODUVAL.

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

INDUSTRIAL INDIA.

BY MR. GLYN BARLOW, M. A.,

Principal, Victoria College, Palghat; and formerly Editor of the Madras Times.

Copies can be had of Messrs. Natesan & Co., Esplanade Row, Madras. Price Re. 1—8—0.

"Industrial India" is a trumpet-call to awaken India to a sense of its duty in matters industrial. We hear of social reform, and of political reform, but, till recently, we have not been hearing anything of industrial reform. Here is an Englishman—a very sympathetic Englishman—trying to rouse the attention of the nation to the need for instant and energetic action. He points out the causes of the decay of indigenous industry in India, and mentions the remedies by which the evil might be removed, and India made to hold its own in the industrial competition of the world. It is in no carping spirit that the book is written. Mr. Barlow understands our difficulties, and appreciates the efforts we make to overcome them, and is even ready to give us a helping hand. We welcome the publication. We wish it will be translated into all the vernaculars, and cheap editions of these translations published, so that even the poorest villager may be induced to contribute his share towards the economic development of India.

THE APOSTOLIC ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE SYRIAN CHURCH OF MALABAR.

BY MR. A. PHILIPOSE, M. A.

This pamphlet is a serious contribution towards the settlement—if ever that is possible—of that vexed question as to the advent of St. Thomas to Malabar. We have no idea of discussing the subject now. That we hope to be able to do on a future occasion when we shall collect together all the arguments both for and against this moot point. But we wish to lightly touch on one or two points raised in this paper of Mr. Philipose.

Gondophares, we may tell the writer, has also been identified with the name of Khanda Parasu or Parasu Rama, the traditionary founder of Keralam. We think therefore that the argument which

hinges on this name cannot be indisputably used against the view of those who hold that Malabar was one of the spheres of activity of the Apostle Thomas.

Another contention raised against this theory is the mention in the acts of Thomas of "wild asses which came of their own accord to be harnessed to the Apostle's chariot." M. Levi says that wild asses are met with only in the Indus valley and, consequently, he thinks that St. Thomas could not have come to Malabar. There are asses in Southern India now; and who knows there might have been wild ones here 1900 years ago? Further, there is nothing to show that, in all the places where the Apostle went, wild asses willingly came to draw his chariot. Above all, if one can believe that the spiritual eminence of this great evangelist was such as to induce wild asses to draw his chariot, we can also credit him with the power of creating wild asses where there were none. But all this is beside the point.

The paper before us bears marks of research and scholarship. We trust Mr. Philipose will go on with his congenial studies and give to the public many papers of this sort.

WORKS OF ATTUKAL SANKARA PILLAY.

EDITED BY HIS SON MR. S. KUNJU KRISHNA PILLAY, QUILON.

We have before us the poetical works of one whose name, for various reasons, ought to live in the history of Malabar. In the first place, he writes good poetry. His poems are marked with an ease and elegance which show that there was no struggle with the muse. The pity of it is that he frittered away his skill in composing snatches of songs, complimentary poems and poems of personal complaint to his patrons. That, evidently, is not the vocation of a poet. The only serious attempt he seems to have made is a Malayalam rendering of the *Devi Bhagavatham*; and that remains in an incomplete form. Secondly, he and his works will be an emphatic refutation of the opinion of those who hold that, because they are Sircar servants, they get no time to assist the literary movement in Malabar. Sankara Pillai was a Munsiff, and report goes that he was a very successful Munsiff also. And yet he found time to cultivate the graces as well as the muses. And thirdly, because Sankara Pillay was the son of his father. It looks odd—a bit ridiculous perhaps—that we should say this. But we think we

shall be excused for saying it when we state that Sankara Pillay's father, Sankara Jolsyar, was for some time the spiritual adviser of Ranjit Sing, the Lion of Lahore. In that capacity he won several titles of honour from his disciple and from Lord William Bentinck, the then Governor-General of India. Subsequently, he came out to Travancore as the first judge of the highest court of that land.

We wish a rapid sale for the publication.

THE ANNUAL REPORT ON EPIGRAPHY by Mr. Venkayya, M. A., Officiating Government Epigraphist, is a very interesting document and gives a short but clear account of the operations of the Department under his charge. During the year 1903—4, inscriptions were copied in seven Districts of the Madras Presidency, and the number of inscriptions copied was nearly 800, of which 617 were prepared for the Report. There are two appendices marked A and B, the first containing a preliminary list of the inscriptions copied at the several places visited by the Government Epigraphist in 1903 and the second containing a list of the inscriptions copied in 1904. The more important of the inscriptions are noticed at some length in the body of the Report, and some of these refer to a few of the kings of the Pallava, Chola, Chalukya and Vijayanagara dynasties. The Pallavas seem to have established their supremacy in some parts of Malabar in early times, and it seems that there are several inscriptions in out-of-the-way hamlets in the Palghat Taluq—inscriptions which, if copied and deciphered, would throw a flood of light on many obscure points in the history of the land of Sri Sankaracharya and Parasurama. It is to be hoped that the Government Epigraphist would extend the operations of the Department over which he presides with such conspicuous success to those parts of the Malabar District which contain inscriptions, and lay students of historical research under obligations to him by placing before them a few of the materials out of which a history of the province may be constructed and made available to the public. Pallavoor, Pallanchathanur, Pallaseni and a host of other places in the Palghat Taluq were under the sway of the Pallava kings, and it is said that traces of their rule are still to be met with at those places. The Report under notice, unlike many Government Blue Books, is a very interesting publication, and we beg to offer our congratulations to Mr. V. Venkayya on its excellence.

We beg to acknowledge receipt of the following publications with thanks :—

(1) *Malabar and Its Folk* :--By T. K. Gopala Panikkar, B. A. (Messrs. G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras.)

(2) *Bhakti Yoga* :—By K. M. (Vidya Vinodini Press, Trichur.)

(3) A Malayalam Translation of *Bacon's Essays* :—By K. C. Mamman Mappillay, B. A.

(4) *Vedanta : The Religion of Science* :—By N. K. Ramaswamy Aiya, B. A., B. L.

(5) *The Report of the Nineteenth Indian National Congress* :— (Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Esplanade, Madras.)

(6) *The Promise of Philosophy* :—By A. S. Mudaliar. (The Irish Press, Popham's Broadway, Madras).

This number contains 22 extra pages.